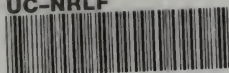


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## INNEHÅLL.

1. *Gregor XIII* und die *Bartolomäusnacht*, ergänzende Beiträge mitgeteilt von *P. O. v. Törne*.
2. *The Primary Causes of Social Inequality*, by *Gunnar Landtman*.
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# The Primary Causes of Social Inequality.

by

GUNNAR LANDTMAN.

## CHAPTER I.

### *Earliest Social Relations.*

Modern ethnography has shown the delusiveness of the romantic halo with which certain writers of the 18:th century have sought to invest primitive communities. The phantoms of Rousseau's wonderful dream have been ruthlessly dispersed, the one after the other. There can be no doubt that the childhood of the human race resembled least of all an imaginary Golden Age. The earliest history of mankind was the history of an utter barbarism.

Antropology shows us that the savage is not even that child of an Elysian liberty which writers of Rousseau's school conceived him to be. ✓ Absolutely free in the sense of being independent of masters, he is bound hand and foot by custom. Tribal observances, religious duties and the fear of magic impose upon his conduct more rigid restraints than any temporal rulers impose upon the conduct of their subjects. „In the lower stages of civilisation, especially“, says Professor Westermarck, „custom is a tyrant who binds man in iron fetters, and who threatens the transgressor, not only with general disgrace, but often with bodily suffering“. <sup>1)</sup> With refer-

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<sup>1)</sup> Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i. 119 sq. — Other scientists have made the same observation, cf., for instance, Avebury, *The Origin of Civilisation*, p. 506. Le Bon, *L'Homme et les Sociétés*, p. 57. Von Martius, *Beiträge zur Ethnologie Amerika's*, p. 3 sq.



ence to the rude natives of Western Australia, an investigator of those parts writes: „It is often erroneously believed that man in a savage state is endowed with an absolute individual freedom of action, whereas in reality he is subject to a complete system of laws, which not only enslave thought, but allow no scope for intellectual or moral development. These traditional regulations; and superstitions keep the Western Australian natives in a condition of barbarism, and cause them to violate the most sacred usages of life“. <sup>1)</sup> Respecting the Central Australian natives we read: „What his father did before him, that he must do. If during the performance of a ceremony his ancestor painted a white line across the forehead, that line must be paint. Any infringement of custom, within certain limitations, is visited with sure and often severe punishment“. <sup>2)</sup>

Yet we should be judging the lower races wrongly if we should deny them every approach to the Utopian social state of philosophy. No doubt the untroubled existence of many savages as well as their high moral standard have contributed to the admiration which certain travellers have bestowed upon a number of primitive tribes. <sup>3)</sup> Apart from all Utopian affinities in general we cannot help noticing that among the most primitive peoples there is found an equality of rank which is generally considered to be the attribute of a perfect social state. It is a significant fact that a condition of almost complete equality reigns among peoples in the lowest degree of culture. The conditions under which the rudest savages live have not favoured differentiation of rank, which belongs to a somewhat higher evolution. <sup>4)</sup>

In my dissertation on *The Origin of Priesthood* I have pointed out that no distinction of ranks exists or has existed

<sup>1)</sup> Calvert, *The Aborigines of Western Australia*, p. 17.

<sup>2)</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 11 sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Cf. Reade, *Savage Africa*, p. 258. Cranz, *History of Greenland*, i. 179. Wallace, *Malay Archipelago*, ii, 460.

<sup>4)</sup> Among all peoples, however, of which we possess sufficient knowledge, have been found priests or sorcerers occupying a more or less acknowledged individual position of their own in society. Cf. Landtman, *The Origin of Priesthood*, pp. 10—13.

among the Australians, Bushmen, Hottentots, Andaman and Nicobar Islanders, Forest Veddahs, Fuegians, Eskimo, Tasmanians, Ghiliaks, Bodo and Dhimal and Lower Californians.<sup>1)</sup> Most of these peoples are known to belong to the very lowest races of man. The number of classless peoples is however not exhausted in this list. ✓As a rule, in all tribes belonging to the rude type of hunters difference of ranks is non-existent. The whole malepopulation constitutes a homogeneous mass from which only certain individuals emerge, whether, as Dr. Grosse has pointed out, such as are considered to possess magical powers,<sup>2)</sup> or such as distinguish themselves by other personal qualifications. ✓In certain cases equality prevails even among somewhat more advanced peoples.

Although we must receive with a certain reservation the assertion that a complete class equality exists among one or another people, some further tribes can certainly be adduced as making at least a near approach to such a state of equality. In India the Kookies „have no caste or class distinctions — —; all eat and drink together, and one man is as good as another“. <sup>3)</sup> Concerning the wild tribes of the Nagas we read: Not acknowledging any regular chiefs, and every man being his own master, his passions and inclinations are ruled by his brute force and his dexterity with the spear, to which weapon he has immediate resort for the adjustment of the slightest quarrel. <sup>4)</sup> Another writer tells us respecting the same people, „although each village community has a nominal head or chief, it is evident their chiefs have no absolute power over the people. — — Every man is his own master, avenges his own quarrels“. <sup>5)</sup> No distinction of ranks,

<sup>1)</sup> Landtman, *The Origin of Priesthood*, pp. 2—5.

<sup>2)</sup> Grosse, *Formen der Familie*, p. 39. — Several other scientists have paid attention to the equality of rank prevailing in the lowest stage, as, for instance: Post, *Anfänge des Staats- und Rechtslebens*, pp. 96 sq. *Id.*, *Bausteine*, ii. 44 sq. Gumpłowicz, *Grundriss der Sociologie*, p. 124. Durkheim, *Division du Travail Social*, p. 142.

<sup>3)</sup> Lewin, *Wild Races of S. E. India*, p. 253.

<sup>4)</sup> Grange, 'Journal of an Expedition into the Naga Hills', in *Jour. As. Soc. of Bengal*, ix. 950.

<sup>5)</sup> Butler, *Travels and Adventures in Assam*, pp. 145 sq.



we are told, exists among the Puttoos, who are a hunting tribe inhabiting certain of the tributary Mehals of Cuttack. They have no distinction of castes. <sup>1)</sup> Of all the tribes of the Malay Peninsula, according to Mr. Crawford, those inhabiting the mountain Jarai on the frontier of Siam are the lowest. This population is subdivided into hordes of thirty families each, who roam about the forests of the mountain, living on wild roots or honey, and shooting with arrows the smaller game. They seldom stay above fifteen days in one spot. There is a perfect equality among them, and they acknowledge no leader, consulting age and experience just when it suits their purposes. <sup>2)</sup> Mr. Reade writes that in the tribe of the Bapuku in West Africa, he met with „a republic in which there existed no invidious distinctions of rank or wealth, where the men were all equal, and all property was common“. <sup>3)</sup> The whole people of the Bakwiri in Cameron „still forms an undifferentiated bulk, classes or estates being unknown; they have not even slaves“ <sup>4)</sup>. Among the Blackfoot Indians „all men were free and equal, and office was not hereditary“. <sup>5)</sup>

✓The non-existence of ranks among many primitive peoples is on the whole in harmony with the conditions under which they live. Among the rude hunting tribes there is little or no use for servants or workmen, everybody performs himself all the work necessary for his sustenance with the help that he may receive from his wife. No distinction of labour between differing classes of society exists in the lowest stages, as we shall have occasion to show further on. Another concomitant factor is the scattered organisation of most primitive races. We learn that all the lowest peoples as a rule live in small numbers together, although some kind of connection is generally preserved between the petty groups. Natur-

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<sup>1)</sup> Samuells, 'Notes on a Forest Race called Puttoos or Juanga', in *Jour. As. Soc. of Bengal*, xxv. 1856.

<sup>2)</sup> Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, iii. 5.

<sup>3)</sup> Reade, *Savage Africa*, p. 258.

<sup>5)</sup> Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 219.

ally such conditions of life have not been favourable to the differentiation of ranks.<sup>1)</sup>

The Australians, says Mr. Hale, have not even any word „signifying a chief or superior, or any proper terms for the expressions ,command', ,obey' and the like. Each family, being the source of all its own comforts and providing for its own wants, might, but for the love of companionship, live apart and isolated from the rest, without sacrificing any advantage. Their wars, religious celebrations and festive assemblies are the only occasions when co-operation is really necessary among them. — They have not, properly speaking, any distinction of tribes“. <sup>2)</sup> Another writer says the Australian aborigines „are divided into tribes so small that the divisions would almost seem families“. <sup>3)</sup>

The Fugians are by several investigators stated to reside in small family septs. „Scarcity of food, and the facility with which they move from one place to another in their canoes, are, no doubt, the reasons why the Fugians are always so dispersed among the islands in small family parties, why they never remain long in one place, and why a large number are not seen many days in company“. <sup>4)</sup>

Mr. Haley informs us that the Wild Veddahs „are distributed through their lovely country in small septs, or families, occupying generally caves in the rocks, though some have little bark huts. They depend almost solely on hunting for their support and hold little communion even with each other“. <sup>5)</sup> And de Butts writes: „Like beasts of the forests,

<sup>1)</sup> In his work *The History of Human Marriage* Professor Westermarck shows that savage peoples live rather in families than in tribes, and he points out that „the comparatively solitary life which the families of these peoples lead, is due to want of sufficient food“. Pp. 43—49. — Dr. Grosse, Mr. Farrer and Dr. Nieboer have expressed the same opinion as regards the organisation of primitive tribes. — *Formen der Familie*, pp. 31 sq. *Primitive Manners and Customs*, p. 131. *Slavery as an Industrial System*, pp. 121 sq.

<sup>2)</sup> Hale, 'Ethnography and Philology', in Wilkes, *U. S. Exploring Expedition*, vi. 112.

<sup>3)</sup> O'Connel, *Eleven years in New Holland*, p. 82.

<sup>4)</sup> Fitzroy, *Narrative of the Voyages of Adventure and Beagle*, ii. 177. Cf. Wilkes, *op. cit.* i. 124. Snow, 'Wild Tribes of Tierra del Fuego', in *Trans. Ethn. Soc. N. S.* i. 264.

<sup>5)</sup> Bailey, 'Wild Tribes of the Veddahs', *ib.*, N. S. ii. 281.



they live in pairs, and, except on some extraordinary occasion, never assemble together<sup>1)</sup> By Davy we are told that the Forest Veddahs live in pairs and only occasionally assemble in greater numbers.<sup>2)</sup> Messrs. P. and F. Sarasin state that during the dry season each family inhabits its own hunting ground, but in the rainy season they go to the mountains in the central region of the country, where they live in the caverns.<sup>3)</sup>

Again, respecting the Andamanese, we learn that they „are not fond of obeying other persons, and only band together and obey one Elder when it is manifestly to their interests to do so<sup>4)</sup> Similar reports are given of the Bushmen. „A horde“, says Lichtenstein, „commonly consists of the different members of one family only, and no one has any power or distinction above the rest“. „Very little intercourse subsists between the separate hordes; they seldom unite unless in some extraordinary undertaking, for which the combined strength of a great many is required. For the most part, the hordes keep at a distance from each other, since the smaller the number, the easier is the supply of food procured<sup>5)</sup> M. Thulié writes of the same peoples: „Ces nomades vivent par petites hordes dont les nombres sont ordinairement peu nombreux; deux ou trois familles seulement la composent; il arrive même qu'une seule famille forme un petit kraal, mais cela n'a lieu que lorsque les enfants sont assez grands et assez forts pour aider leurs parents dans la recherche de la subsistance<sup>6)</sup>

✓ But also among peoples who have no distinction of ranks, all individuals are not necessarily on a footing of equal-

1) De Butts, *Rambles in Ceylon*, p. 149.

2) Davy, *Account of the Interior of Ceylon*, p. 118.

3) Sarasin, *Ergebnisse Naturwissenschaftlicher Forschungen auf Ceylon*, iii. 477.

4) Portman, *History of our Relation with the Andamanese*, i. 40 sq.

5) Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa*, ii. 48, 49.

6) Thulié, 'Instructions sur les Bochimans', in *Bull. de la Société d'Anthropologie*, S. iii. T. iv. 409 sq.



ity as regards authority and influence. ✓ Among most races, whether civilized or uncivilized, the women occupy a position of political and social inferiority to the men. In descriptions of savage peoples there occur frequently such expressions as „women and slaves constitute the wealth of the natives“, or „all real work is done by the women“. This shows in what light the position of the women in such communities appears to the explorer. It is, however, necessary to accept such judgments with a certain reservation.

In the most various respects the men in many nations have the advantage of the women. ✓ It even happens that rights commonly enjoyed by the men are denied the women. Among some peoples, for instance, certain food-regulations are for some reason or other obligatory upon the women. <sup>1)</sup> Thus in certain parts of South Australia special kinds of food were forbidden to women altogether, and also to youths who had not yet been „made men“, <sup>2)</sup> and in Fiji the common people as well as the women of all classes were by custom debarred from cannibalism. <sup>3)</sup> Among the Ba-Huana in Central Africa frogs are eaten by the women, but should a man of that tribe be found eating one, he would be laughed to scorn. The Ba-Mabala have a long list of articles of food forbidden to women. <sup>4)</sup> The *weregeld* for killing a woman is among certain peoples less than that for killing a man, <sup>5)</sup> while in a few cases we learn that the female sex is more highly valued, possibly owing to the high price of women as objects of purchase. <sup>6)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Cf. Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, ii. 320 sqq. — Prof. W. shows that men also are sometimes subject to every similar restrictions.

<sup>2)</sup> Woods, *Native Tribes of South Australia*, Introduction, xxiiv. Cf. Craufurd, 'Victoria River Downs Station', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxiv. 182. Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i. xxxv.

<sup>3)</sup> Seeman, *Viti*, p. 179.

<sup>4)</sup> Torday and Joyce, 'Ethnography of the Ba-Mbala', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxx. 403.

<sup>5)</sup> See Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, i. 523 sq. Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nord-ost-Afrikas*, ii. 151.

<sup>6)</sup> Craufurd, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, iii. 112. Cf. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, i. 420 sq.

The subjugation of women evidently depends upon a number of concomitant circumstances. ✓ We need only to refer to Professor Westermarck's minute investigation of the subject, in which he chiefly attributes the status of wives to men's superiority in strength and courage, to elements of the sexual impulse itself which lead to domination on the part of the man and to submission on the part of the woman, to certain economic conditions and, finally, to superstitious and low ideas held universally about the female sex.<sup>1)</sup>

Professor Westermarck, admitting that among the lower races woman as a rule is always in a state of dependence, at the same time points out that the authority which savage husbands possess over their wives is not always quite so great as it is said to be. Their power is by no means unlimited. The various occupations of life are divided according to rules; and though the making of these rules has no doubt been more or less influenced by the egoism of the stronger sex, they are on the whole in conformity with the indications which nature herself has given.<sup>2)</sup>

✓ Although the women are in general excluded from the management of political affairs,<sup>3)</sup> yet it is not very rare for

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<sup>1)</sup> Westermarck, *The Origin Development of the Moral Ideas*, i. 655—633. — Several writers have dwelt upon the subject of women's position in society. Aristotle long ago wrote in his *Politics* „the male is by nature fitter for command than the female“, and again, „the male is by nature superior, and the female inferior; and the one rules, and the other is ruled; this principle, of necessity, extends to all mankind“. (b. i. ch. v. §§. 1, 7). Of the degraded condition of women instances have been supplied by Post, *Anfänge des Staats- und Rechtslebens*, p. 32; *id.*, *Ursprung des Rechts*, pp. 52—56; *id.*, *Studien zur Entwicklung des Familienrechts*, pp. 326—328; *id.*, *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, pp. 295—297. Grosse, *Formen der Familie*, pp. 45—48. Millar, *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks*, pp. 43—46. — Instances have also been given of women holding a less degraded position: Post, *Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Familienrechts*, pp. 328—331; *id.*, *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, pp. 297 sq. Grosse, *Formen der Familie*, pp. 77, 176.

<sup>2)</sup> Westermarck, 'The Position of Woman in Early Civilization', in *Sociological Papers*, 1904, p. 49; *id.*, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i. ch. xxvi.

<sup>3)</sup> Cf. Dorsey, 'Siouan Sociology', in *Smithsonian Reports*, xv. 224. Von Martius, *Von dem Rechtszustande unter den Ureinwohnern Brasiliens*, p. 22.



them to make their influence felt even in matters of public concern. Among certain Indians of the Rocky Mountain region, for instance, the women are present at their councils and join in the debates, although they have to speak in a low voice, their words being repeated aloud by a reporter. On occasions of less ceremony, they even sometimes address the assembly without any such intervention, „and give their admonitions with a freedom of tongue highly edifying. In a few instances, matrons of superior character, 'strong minded women', have obtained an influence similar to that of chiefs“. <sup>1)</sup> The Iroquois matrons, likewise, „had their representative in the public councils; and they exercised a negative, or what we call a veto power, in the important question of declaration of war. They had the right also to interpose in bringing about a peace. It did not compromise the war policy of the tribes, if the body of matrons expressed a decision in favour of peace. „This was“, a writer says, „an extraordinary feature in a government organized on the war principle, and among a race which both in the domestic circle and in the cornfield laid heavy burdens on their females“. <sup>2)</sup> At the councils of the Makah Indians the men generally do all the talking, although women are permitted to speak on matters where they are themselves concerned. <sup>3)</sup> Among the Australian natives the old women exercise a certain amount of political power by influencing the leaders of their tribe. <sup>4)</sup> In Sparta the woman was more on an equality with the man than was the case in other Greek states. The influence attained by women was, according to Professor Holm, sometimes even stigmatized as petticoat government. <sup>5)</sup>

✓Several peoples in a rude stage of evolution also have been led by women as chiefs. If the head of the Lillooet

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<sup>1)</sup> Gibbs, 'Tribes of W. Washington and N. W. Oregon', in *Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, i. 185.

<sup>2)</sup> Schoolcraft, *Information of the Indian Tribes*, iii. 196.

<sup>3)</sup> Swan, 'Indians of Cape Flattery', in *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, xvi. nr viii. 53.

<sup>4)</sup> Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 127.

<sup>5)</sup> Holm, *The History of Greece*, i. 182.

Indians had no son he was succeeded by his eldest daughter. A woman noted for wealth or who gave a large village feast, was sometimes called a chief.<sup>1)</sup> According to Dobrizhoffer, the Abipones „do not scorn to be governed by women of noble birth“. <sup>2)</sup> Mr. Snow met with an old woman of the Fuegians exercising authority over the rest of the people. <sup>3)</sup> The Begoun Arabs were in Burckhardt's time headed by a widow. <sup>4)</sup>

✓But such instances cannot invalidate the general rule that women are in a great degree subject to the domination of the men. The explanation of the woman's position demonstrates clearly *why* she is in a subordinate condition, but it does not do away with the fact that she *is* in such a position. If invariably the woman has to perform the hardest drudgeries of the field and household work, if she carries the heaviest load when the family is travelling from one place to another, it does not make much difference in her position whether the man refrains from work because he prefers to use her as servant, or because he must constantly be on the alert to hunt or fight for the family. ✓The division of labour between the sexes is not based on equal terms, women's work being generally but little regarded, in accordance with the inferiority generally ascribed to her.

The woman's position, which in the main is independent of the existence or non-existence of rank-classes, shows therefore that a complete equality need not necessarily exist between the members of a community, even where there is no absolute division into classes. ✓The relations between the adult members of a tribe and those under age offer another instance of separate groups, of which the one is socially and politically subject to the other.

✓First of all we have in this connection to notice the rights of parents over their children. Professor Westermarck, in a chapter on „The Subjugation of Children“ has made a

<sup>1)</sup> Teit, 'The Lillooet Indians', in *The Jesup Expedition*, vol. ii. pt. v. 254 sq.

<sup>2)</sup> Dobrizhoffer, *Abipones*, ii. 108.

<sup>3)</sup> Snow, 'Wild Tribes of Tierra del Fuego', in *Trans. Ethn. Soc. N. S.* i. 264.

<sup>4)</sup> Burckhardt, *Beduins and Wahábyes*, ii. 264.



careful investigation of the relations between parents and their offspring in that respect and shows us how it takes form in different stages of development. He points out that among savage and barbarous races the extent of the father's power is subject to great variations. Among some peoples a father may destroy his new-born child; among others infanticide is prohibited by custom. Among some he may sell his children, among others such a right is denied him. Frequently he gives away his daughter in marriage without consulting her wishes; but in other cases her own consent is required, or she is allowed to choose her husband herself. When passing from the savage and barbarous races of men to those next above them in civilisation, we find paternal, or parental, authority and filial reverence at their height. <sup>1)</sup>

Not only the father, but in certain cases any senior member of the family exercises authority over the younger ones. Among the Cherkesses of the Caucasus, for instance, the younger brother pays great reverence to the elder, he stands up when his brother comes into the room and speaks to him only when addressed. <sup>2)</sup>

It is a general rule among most peoples that a certain authority, independent of relationship, always accompanies a more advanced age. The older have precedence of the younger, and in special cases the former also enjoy definite peculiar privileges. <sup>3)</sup> From all parts of Australia we meet with reports that „age is treated with special reverence“, or that „custom requires the young men to pay implicit obedience to their elders“, & c. <sup>4)</sup> In New Guinea, <sup>5)</sup> in the New

<sup>1)</sup> Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i. 599—613. — The question of parents' rights over their children has been treated in several works. Cf. Aristotle's *Politics*, b. i. ch. 12. §§ 1, 3. Grosse, *Formen der Familie*, pp. 78 sq., 171. Post, *Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Familienrechts*, pp. 332 sq.

<sup>2)</sup> Bodenstedt, *Völker des Kaukasus*, ii. 51.

<sup>3)</sup> Cf. Millar, *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks*, p. 138. Post, *Bausteine*, ii. 46 sq. Grosse, *Formen der Familie*, p. 39.

<sup>4)</sup> Fison and Howitt, *Kamiraloï and Kurnai*, p. 211. Hale, 'Ethnography and Philology', in Wilkes, *U. S. Exploring Expedition*, vi. 113. Schürmann, 'Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln', in Woods, *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 226. Wyatt, Account of the Adelaide and Encounter Bay

Hebrides <sup>1)</sup> and the Nicobar Islands <sup>2)</sup> the old men exercise much influence over the people. Among the Kamchadales, before the Russian conquest, the old men were invested with the principal authority. <sup>3)</sup> The Kiangans or Luzon show their old people great deference, probably because the latter act as priests and have intimate knowledge of the religious rites. <sup>4)</sup> In South Guinea old people are greatly venerated. „Children are trained from their earliest years to venerate age. One of the greatest offences which a middle-aged or young person can be guilty of is to insult, or to treat, with even implied disrespect, an aged person. This profound respect for age — — gives this class of men a predominant and controlling influence in all matters of general interest“. <sup>5)</sup> Among the Barea and Kunama no one person claims to be better than the rest, age alone has a certain harmless precedence. <sup>6)</sup> Several Indian tribes, as the Patagonians, <sup>7)</sup> Chavantes, <sup>8)</sup> Souromo <sup>9)</sup> and others, <sup>10)</sup> are said to pay particular respect to their old people. The Eskimos of Alaska <sup>11)</sup> and the Greenlanders, <sup>12)</sup>

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Aboriginal Tribes, *ib.*, p. 168. Matthews, 'Manners, etc. of the Australian Native', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxiv. 189. Eyre, *Expeditions into Central Australia*, ii. 315. Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 126 sq. Stanbridge, 'Tribes in the Central Part of Victoria', in *Trans. Ethn. Soc. N. S.* i. 286.

<sup>2)</sup> Haddon, 'Western Tribe of Torres Straits', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xix. 329.

<sup>1)</sup> Hagen and Pineau, 'Les Nouvelles Hébrides', in *Revue d'Ethnographie*, vii. 334.

<sup>2)</sup> Svoboda, 'Bewohner des Nikobaren Archipels', in *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, v. 191. Kloss, *In the Andamans and Nicobars*, p. 243

<sup>3)</sup> Крашененниковъ, *Камчатка*, ii. 14.

<sup>4)</sup> Blumentritt, 'Kianganen', in *Ausland*, Lxiv. 120.

<sup>5)</sup> Wilson, *Western Africa*, p. 273.

<sup>6)</sup> Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 481.

<sup>7)</sup> Fitzroy, *Narrative of the Voyages of Adventure and Beagle*, ii. 172.

<sup>8)</sup> Von Martius, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie Brasiliens*, p. 274.

<sup>9)</sup> Wickham, 'Souromo or Woolwa Indians', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxiv. 201.

<sup>10)</sup> Grubb, *Among the Paraguayan Chaco*, p. 75. Bancroft, *Works*, i. 114 (Tlinkets), 414 (Southern Californians), 728 (Payas and Caribs).

<sup>11)</sup> Murdoch, 'Point Barrow Expedition', in *Smithsonian Reports*, ix. 427. Nelson, 'The Eskimo about Bering Strait', *ib.*, xviii. 329. Bancroft, *op. cit.* i. 68.

<sup>12)</sup> Cranz, *History of Greenland*, i. 170.



who have no ranks among themselves, maintain a due reverence for the aged, and a similar picture is offered by the Fuegians: „In each family the word of the old man is accepted law by the young people; they never dispute authority“. <sup>1)</sup> With reference to the ancient Egyptians and Lacedemonians Herodotus wrote that „the younger of them when they meet the elder give way and move out of the path, and when their elders approach they rise out of their seat“. <sup>2)</sup> In Leviticus it says: „Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honour the face of the old man“. <sup>3)</sup> Even the gods are represented as showing respect for age. In the Iliad we read: „Also the immortals favour elder men“, <sup>4)</sup> and in the Odyssey Jove says to Neptune: „The gods are by no means wanting in respect for you. It would be monstrous were they to insult one so old and honoured as you are“. <sup>5)</sup>

The authority given to old people in many cases tends to make them a kind of self-constituted counsellors of their tribes. In fact, among races which have no established political organization the elders and in general those distinguished through personal superiority represent the first conception of a ruling power. Reports of this kind meet us from many rude tribes. Among the Northern tribes of Central Australia certain of the elder men, the heads of local groups, take the lead at any great ceremonial gathering. They form, as it were, an inner council or cabinet, and completely control everything. <sup>6)</sup> In certain parts of Queensland the old men act the part of rulers, influencing public opinion among the aborigines. <sup>7)</sup> „On important occasions“, it is said of the Herbert River natives, „the old men's advice is sought, and their counsel is mostly taken by the whole tribe“. <sup>8)</sup> The

<sup>1)</sup> Fitzroy, *Narrative of the Voyages of Adventure and Beagle*, ii. 179

<sup>2)</sup> The History of Herodotus, b. v. ch. 80.

<sup>3)</sup> Leviticus, 19; 32.

<sup>4)</sup> The Iliad, xxiii. 787 sq.

<sup>5)</sup> The Odyssey, xiii. 140 sq.

<sup>6)</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 20 sq.

<sup>7)</sup> Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines*, p. 141.

<sup>8)</sup> Lumholtz, *Among Cannibals*, p. 177. Cf. *id.*, 'Questionnaire de Sociologie', in *Bull. Soc. d'Anthropologie*, S. iv. T. xi. 656. — Respecting the

Ida'an or Dusum in North-East Borneo „have no established chiefs, but follow the counsels of the old men to whom they are related“. <sup>1)</sup> Old men enjoy reputation among the Kafirs; availing themselves of the superior insight of the old, the people are anxious to take counsel with them. <sup>2)</sup> Among the Payas the old men, who are highly respected by the juniors, assemble every evening to deliberate upon the duties of the following day. The Caribs are ruled by their elders. <sup>3)</sup> In the councils of the Makah Indians the old generally do all the talking. <sup>4)</sup> The oldest men of the Eskimo are their self-constituted, but willingly followed counsellors. <sup>5)</sup>

✓The reverence paid to old people is, however, often subject to important restrictions. ✓Among many peoples it seems to be the rule that age only exercises influence so long as it is accompanied by full possession of mental vigour. ✓But as soon as a man's energy is seriously declining, not only does his influence grow less, but he may even be killed or abandoned to perish. Of peoples exemplifying the one or the other of these usages we may mention tribes in Australia, <sup>6)</sup> Polynesia, <sup>7)</sup> Africa, <sup>8)</sup> North and South America. <sup>9)</sup>

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position of the old men among the Australian aborigines, cf. also Mitchell, *Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia*, ii. 346. Cunow, *Verwandschafts-Organisationen der Australneger*, p. 80.

<sup>1)</sup> St John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, i. 381.

<sup>2)</sup> Alberti, *Kaffern*, p. 91.

<sup>3)</sup> Bancroft, *Works*, i. 728.

<sup>4)</sup> Swan, 'Indians of the Cape Flattery', in *Smitsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, xvi, n:r viii. 53.

<sup>5)</sup> Klutschak, *Als Eskimo unter den Eskimos*, p. 230.

<sup>6)</sup> Curr, *Squatting in Victoria*, p. 245. Eyre, *Expeditions into Central Australia*, ii. 316.

<sup>7)</sup> Parkinson, 'Gibertinsulaner', in *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, ii. 40. Fison, *Tales from Old Fiji*, xxv sq.

<sup>8)</sup> Ward, 'Congo Tribes', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxiv. 290. Schweinfurt, *The Heart of Africa*, ii. 18. Moffat, *Missionary Labours in Southern Africa*, p. 132. Post, *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, pp. 298 sqq.

<sup>9)</sup> Hearne, *A Journey to the Northern Ocean*, p. 345 (Indians West of Hudson's Bay). Seeman, *Voyage of Herald*, ii. 66 (Western Eskimo). Lyon, *Private Journal*, p. 356 (Eskimo). Catlin, *Letters on the North American In-*



Professor Westermarck, who has collected a great number of facts relative to the killing of parents, shows us that however cruel this custom may be, something is certainly to be said in its favour. It is particularly common among nomadic hunting tribes, owing to the hardships incidental to their life and the inability of decrepit persons to keep up with the march. In many cases what appears to us an atrocious practice may in reality be an act of kindness, and is commonly approved and even insisted upon, by the old people themselves.<sup>1)</sup>

In his work *Altersklassen und Männerbünde* the late Professor Heinrich Schurtz gives a detailed account of the degrees of distinction to which the men and in certain cases the women are admitted, according to age and after undergoing certain ceremonies of initiation.<sup>2)</sup> Dr. Crawley, also, has made an interesting study of the various ceremonies which take place at the initiation of young men and women into maturity<sup>3)</sup>. The custom of classifying people in the distinct groups of the young generation and the grown-up men and women is met with in different parts of the world, as also the custom of receiving the young people at the age of puberty into the privileges of manhood and womanhood through more or less solemn ceremonies. Candidates must, so to speak, divest themselves of all that belongs to childhood and enter into the position of the adult. As to the purpose of the rites we may quote what Spencer and Gillen write with special reference to the Engwura ceremony of the Arunta and Ilpirra: „Evidently the main objects of it are, firstly, to bring the young men under the control of the old men, whose commands they have to obey implicitly; secondly, to teach them habits of self-restraint and hardihood; and

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dians, i. 217. Willoughby, 'Indians of the Quinaielt Agency', in *Annual Report of the Bureau of Regents*, 1885—86, pt. i. 274. Southey, *History of Brasil*, iii. 203 (Moxo tribes). Grubb, *Among the Paraguayan Chaco*, p. 75.

<sup>1)</sup> Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i' 386—390.

<sup>2)</sup> Schurtz, *Altersklassen und Männerbünde*, pp. 95—173.

<sup>3)</sup> Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, pp. 294—314; *id.*, *The Tree of Life*, pp. 55 sq.

thirdly, to reveal to the younger men who have arrived at mature age, the secrets of the tribe".<sup>1)</sup>

In Australia, where the distinction between the classes differing in age is very prominent, the greatest attention is also paid to the initiation ceremonies. The number of initiatory rites and their nature vary to a great extent among different tribes of the Australians.<sup>2)</sup> In the Arunta and Ilpirra tribes the ceremonies are four in number. The first is throwing the boy up in the air; shortly after this, sometimes even before it, the boy has his nasal septum bored through. Several years later two much more important ceremonies are performed, circumcision and subincision. Certain very painful ceremonies are attached to these rites. The Engwuru, or the last of the initiatory ceremonies, is in reality a long series of rites concerned with the totems, and terminating in an ordeal by fire.<sup>3)</sup> Among the Northern Central tribes the more important ceremonies are two in number, they are those of circumcision and subincision. Two other ceremonies are sometimes associated with initiation, these are, however, of secondary importance.<sup>4)</sup> In the Port Lincoln district, also, circumcision constitutes a noticeable part of the initiation rites.<sup>5)</sup>

Among several tribes in Victoria, as in general in the Eastern and South-Eastern coastal districts, the initiatory ceremony essentially consisted in knocking out one or more of the upper front teeth.<sup>6)</sup> Several writers have made mention of this practice in connection with the initiation ceremonies.<sup>7)</sup> Among the Central Australian natives the knocking out of teeth has nothing to do with initiation. It may

<sup>1)</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 272.

<sup>2)</sup> Cf. *ib.*, p. 212..

<sup>3)</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 213—271.

<sup>4)</sup> *Id.*, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 328 sq.

<sup>5)</sup> Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 66.

<sup>6)</sup> *Ib.*, i. 62, 64 sq., 69. Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 213. *Id.*, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 329.

<sup>7)</sup> Stanbridge, 'Tribes of the Central Part of Victoria', in *Trans. Ethn. Soc. N. S. i.* 287 sq. Cunow, *Verwandschafts-Organisationen der Australneger*, p. 28. Curr, *The Australian Race*, i. 72. Mathew, *Eaglehawk and Crow*, pp. 120 sq.



be performed, and is, in fact, practised by both men and women, but has no sacred significance of any kind. <sup>1)</sup> Dr. Crawley thinks that the practice of knocking out one or more teeth at initiation „probably is originally intended to secure the rest of the teeth, in special reference to the adult's food which is now to be eaten“. <sup>2)</sup>

✓The initiation of the Larakia youths takes the form of a series of more or less disagreeable tests, which are evidently designed to try the strength and endurance of those passing through them. <sup>3)</sup> Among the Eaglehawk and Crow, according to Mathew, „almost every tribe had details in the man-making ceremonies peculiar to itself“. ✓Before they were admitted, the neophytes had to undergo all sorts of severe ordeals, the primary objects of which „were evidently to enforce self-restraint and to try courage“. Some kinds of mutilation or cutting the flesh are frequently practised. Piercing the septum of the nose is the most common practice of this kind. The amputation of one or two joints of the little finger of one hand is practised upon the young men of some tribes of the Queensland coast. <sup>4)</sup> It is, on the whole, a very general rule that young people have to undergo severe hardships and tests at their initiation. Besides giving proofs of the courage and hardiness of the youths, these tests sometimes seem to serve a certain purificatory object. <sup>5)</sup> Nothing that can bring harm to a person in the position which he occupies at the initiation may come in contact with him. Among the natives in Victoria it is customary on these occasions to shave the youth's head, with the exception of a narrow strip, and he must for a time go naked. <sup>6)</sup> In certain cases fasting

<sup>1)</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 213; *id.*, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 329.

<sup>2)</sup> Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, p. 300.

<sup>3)</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 331.

<sup>4)</sup> Mathew, *Eaglehawk and Crow*, pp. 117—121.

<sup>5)</sup> Cf. Torday and Joyce on the Ba-Yaka in Central Africa who consider boys unclean after circumcision until the wounds have healed. — 'Ethnography of the Ba-Yaka', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxxvi. 46.

<sup>6)</sup> Brough, Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 60. — Among the Tupinamba Indians of Brazil the hair of a girl was cut off as soon as she became

is imposed upon the young men before their initiation,<sup>1)</sup> in other cases they are only permitted to eat certain kinds of food.<sup>2)</sup>

A very prominent feature of the Australian man-making ceremonies is the conferring of a new name or title upon the neophyte. In certain cases he receives a new individual name, in other cases he is called by the name of the class to which he temporarily belongs. Sometimes his name is changed several times in succession at each new ceremony.<sup>3)</sup> — As Dr. Crawley has pointed out, changing the names is evidently considered a highly important event. The name, being a universal mark of identity, is often conceived of as a part of the organism, and a new name is practically a new life.<sup>4)</sup>

In regard to the initiation of women among the Australian aborigines, we learn from different parts of the continent that there are certain ceremonies which are evidently the equivalents of the initiation ceremonies practised in the case of the men, although differing more or less.<sup>5)</sup>

Similar, to a certain extent, are the rites through which young persons in other parts of the world are admitted into manhood and womanhood. The inhabitants of the Western Islands of Torres Straits have several grades of rank to be passed, the first series of ceremonies, however, being the all-important ones. During the probationary period the boys have to live in seclusion and are subject to hardships; certain taboos and rules as regards their conduct are generally enforced. They are also instructed in the lore and customs

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marriageable, after which the hair was permitted to grow again. — Southey, *History of Brazil*, i. 240.

<sup>1)</sup> Cunow, *Verwandschafts-Organisationen der Australneger*, p. 27.

<sup>2)</sup> Curr, *The Australian Race*, i. 72. Fison and Howitt, *Kameraloi and Kurnai*, p. 197. Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 256.

<sup>3)</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, pp. 218, 221, 249, 256 (no special name is given to a female after any initiation rite), 269. Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 66. Mathew, *Eaglehawk and Crow*, p. 117. Curr, *The Australian Race*, i. 72. Cunow, *op. cit.*, pp. 26 sq., 32 sq.

<sup>4)</sup> Crawley, *The Tree of Life*, p. 299.

<sup>5)</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, pp. 269 sq. Brough Smyth, *op. cit.*, i. 61 sq., 65.



of their people. <sup>1)</sup> A complicated system of ceremonial, the chief feature of which is seclusion, is similarly observed throughout the Western Islands by girls at puberty. <sup>2)</sup> Initiation ceremonies are also reported from the Kiwai Island. <sup>3)</sup> Among the Kajans of Borneo the puberty ceremonies are distinguished by certain food-restrictions, and a number of painful operations are performed. <sup>4)</sup> Of a similar description are ceremonies of the Andaman Islanders, among whom the names of those initiated are changed. <sup>5)</sup>

Among the Wanika in East Africa the young men, when they have reached a certain age, smear the body with white and grey paint and remain in the woods until they have killed a man. After that they wash themselves and return home, where they then feast and carouse to their heart's content. <sup>6)</sup> In the native tribes of Liberia there are initiation schools in which boys and girls are taught the lore of their people as well as respect for tribal custom and the wisdom of the elders. The boy generally renounces the name of his childhood and adopts a new one. Ordinarily the boys are circumcised at these schools, which are situated in the forest, not too far from the village. <sup>7)</sup> The Ba-Yaka circumcise their boys at puberty. The name of the patient is changed; his old name must not be used again, or it is supposed that he would in such case become sterile. After circumcision the boys are considered unclean, and are secluded in the bush until their wounds have healed. ~~During~~ this time they wear grass skirts, do not work, and may not enter a village. <sup>8)</sup> Immediately a Kafir youth reaches the age of virility, *i. e.*, when genital

<sup>1)</sup> Haddon, *Head-Hunters*, pp. 42 sq.; *id.*, 'Initiation', in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition*, v. 208—221.

<sup>2)</sup> Seligmann, 'Vomens Puberty Customs', *ib.*, v. 201—207.

<sup>3)</sup> Chalmers, 'Natives of the Kiwai Island', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxxiii. 122.

<sup>4)</sup> Nieuwenhuis, *In Central Borneo*, i. 67 sq.

<sup>5)</sup> Man, 'Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xii. 129—135.

<sup>6)</sup> Krapf, *Travels in Eastern Africa*, p. 147.

<sup>7)</sup> Johnston, *Liberia*, ii. 1029—1036.

<sup>8)</sup> Torday and Joyce, 'Ethnography of the Ba-Yaka', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxxvi. 46.

discharges are experienced for the first time, he has to undergo certain ceremonies.<sup>1)</sup>

According to Messrs. Hyades and Deniker the Fuegians „avaient, il n'y a pas très longtemps encore, l'habitude de soumettre à une sorte d'initiation les garçons parvenus à l'âge de l'adolescence. — On les obligeaient à jeûner, tout en les soumettant à un travail pénible. — Ils ne subissaient pas ailleurs aucun mauvais traitement: leurs souffrances se bornaient à celles d'un jeûne sévère et prolongé, produisant une notable émaciation. — Jusqu'alors le jeune garçon était considéré comme un enfant et appelé *Tamam*; après l'initiation, il devenait un jeune homme, on l'appelait *Ouchouala*, et il avait droit au mariage.“<sup>2)</sup> Among the Guaycuru in Brazil there were three degrees of rank principally depending upon age. The inaugural ceremony to the highest degree was the most formidable one, during which the candidate had to undergo severe ordeals without betraying the slightest sense of pain. While the boys belonged to one or another of these degrees they bore distinctive names.<sup>3)</sup> Young Mauhés<sup>4)</sup> and Warraus<sup>5)</sup> were initiated among the men after similar tests. Among the Caribs of British Guiana<sup>6)</sup> and the Uapé on the Amazon<sup>7)</sup> boys as well as girls are subject to painful ceremonies at puberty.

Initiation rites occur frequently among the Indians of North America. These ceremonies include in general boys as well as girls; the different customs vary, however, very considerably among different peoples. Thus with reference to the Salish Indians Mr. Tout remarks: „In puberty rites and observances no two of our Salish tribes seem to follow

<sup>1)</sup> Lugg, 'Puberty Customs of the Natives of Natal and Zululand', in *Man*, vii. 116.

<sup>2)</sup> Hyades and Deniker, 'Anthropologie, Ethnographie', in *Mission Scientifique du Cape Horn*, vii. 376.

<sup>3)</sup> Southey, *History of Brazil*, iii. 387 sq. — Initiation ceremonies among the Brazilian natives are to a similar effect, described by v. Martius also. — *Von dem Rechtszustande unter den Ureinwohnern Brasiliens*, p. 69.

<sup>4)</sup> Spix and v. Martius, *Reise in Brasilien*, iii. 1328.

<sup>5)</sup> Schomburgk, *Reisen in Britisch-Guiana*, i. 168.

<sup>6)</sup> Appun, 'Indianer in Britisch Guayana', in *Ausland*, xlv. 186 sq.

<sup>7)</sup> Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon*, 496 sq.



the same customs.“<sup>1)</sup> Among several tribes the puberty rites comprehend fasting, or at least certain taboos or restrictions in the matter of food. Very generally the pubescent boy or girl is secluded from the rest of the household for a certain space of time.<sup>2)</sup> The object of many of the observances during the period of probation seems to be the protection of the boys and girls from malign spirits and other evil influences, which is sometimes expressly stated to be the case.<sup>3)</sup> Puberty ceremonies of this description are practised by the Lillooet,<sup>4)</sup> Mission,<sup>5)</sup> Maidu,<sup>6)</sup> Siciatl,<sup>7)</sup> Stseelis<sup>8)</sup> and Slatliumh<sup>9)</sup> tribes. Among the Cross River natives circumcision is performed upon both males and females as a mark of initiation. The custom of removing one of the incisor teeth is also practised in the district.<sup>10)</sup> Circumcision is a universal practice among the Akikuyu, it is performed upon both sexes as soon as they reach puberty. A new title is given to the boys and girls after that period.<sup>11)</sup> Initiation rites are known to be practised by the Namaquas also.<sup>12)</sup>

Until their initiation the young people generally have no social position, but afterwards they are recognized as men and women and are admitted into the privileges and distinc-

<sup>1)</sup> Tout, 'Ethnology of the Siciatl', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxxiv. 32.

<sup>2)</sup> Among the Stseelis Indians boys do not seem to have been regularly secluded at all (Tout, 'Report on the Stseelis', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxxiv. 319), and among the Northern Maidu puberty ceremonials are held only for girls, although in one sense the initiation ceremonies of the Secret Society may be considered as puberty ceremonies for the boys also. — Dixon, 'The Northern Maidu', in *Bull. of the Amer. Museum of Natural History*, v. xvii. pt. iii. 232.

<sup>3)</sup> Rust, 'Puberty Ceremony of the Mission Indians', in *American Anthropologist*, N. S. viii. 30.

<sup>4)</sup> Teit, 'The Lillooet Indians', in *The Jesup Expedition*, v. ii. pt. v. 263—267.

<sup>5)</sup> Rust, *loc. cit.*, N. S. viii. 28—31.

<sup>6)</sup> Dixon, *loc. cit.*, v. xvii. pt. iii. 232—239.

<sup>7)</sup> Tout, 'Ethnology of the Siciatl', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxxiv. 32.

<sup>8)</sup> *Id.*, 'Report on the Stseelis', *ib.*, xxxiv. 319 sq.

<sup>9)</sup> *Id.*, 'Ethnology of the Slatliumh', *ib.*, xxxv. 137.

<sup>10)</sup> Partridge, *Cross River Natives*, p. 216.

<sup>11)</sup> Tate, 'Further Notes on the Kikuyu Tribe', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxxiv. 265.

<sup>12)</sup> Featherman, *Social History of the Races of Mankind*, i. 542.

tions of the grown-up generation. The most important privilege obtained by youths and girls at their admission into manhood and womanhood is the right to marry.

Professor Schurtz has made a defined distinction between the ceremonies which attend the initiation of the youths and those which have reference to their marriage. He says: „The mere fact of approaching puberty would scarcely lead to such complicated usages and formalities if it were not that entrance into the youths' closely united group should at the same time be emphasized“. <sup>1)</sup> Contrary to the opinion of Professor Schurtz it seems in many cases evident that the significance of initiation consists just in this, that it constitutes a preparation of young men and women for the adult's life in general, to which belongs first of all marriage. That the initiation has, in a certain sense, a direct reference to matrimony appears from the fact that in many cases it is emphatically what gives the person who has gone through the requisite ceremonies the right to marry, often even the initiation is an indispensable condition for entering the married state. <sup>2)</sup> Marriage is also in numerous instances the natural continuation of the initiation ceremonies, and the chief reason when this does not happen is doubtless in most cases due to some obstacle from without coming in the way. Sometimes it is said, indeed, that anyone who desires to marry must undergo circumcision or the other ceremonies which are usually connected with the maturity initiations, <sup>3)</sup> sometimes it is even categorically stated that the object of the puberty ceremonies

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<sup>1)</sup> Schurtz, *Altersklassen und Männerbünde*, p. 96.

<sup>2)</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 264; *id.*, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 330. Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 60. Cunow, *Verwandschafts-Organisationen der Australneger*, p. 33. Kohler, 'Recht der Australneger', in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, vii. 357. Haddon, *Head-Hunters*, p. 42 (Western tribe of Torres Strait). Hyades and Deniker, 'Anthropologie, Ethnographie', in *Mission Scientifique du Cape Horn*, vii. 376 (Fuegians). Spix and v. Martius, *Reise in Brasilien*, iii. 1320 (Mauhés). Wallace *Travels on the Amazon*, p. 496 (Uaupés).

<sup>3)</sup> Hollis *The Masai*, p. 299. Appun, 'Indianer in Britisch Guayana', in *Ausland*, xliv. 185.



is a preparation for matrimony.<sup>1)</sup> As we shall see in the next chapter, it is very commonly the case that a man must submit to some special test before he is allowed to bring home the object of his choice, and although such a test, by which he proves his ability to provide for a wife, &c., has reference to a man's marriage, it is in many cases so like the usual initiation ceremonies that it is difficult to distinguish between them. This also shows the connection existing between such customs.

Our opinion differs therefore from Professor Schurtz's, since we consider that the initiation in the first place only refers to the attained age of puberty and has relation to the privileges enjoyed by the adult. We have not been able, namely, to find that the classes of youths and men form in general a so closely organized association as the Professor considered to be the case when he stated that initiation mainly denotes the admission of the new member into such an association. Neither can we agree with Professor Schurtz's universal division into three strictly separate age-classes, viz., children, pubescent youths and married adults. On the contrary, the conditions in this respect vary in a great degree, just as we have already seen that the number of initiations vary. It has appeared to us that the decidedly most important ceremony, whether it goes through one or several stages, is, in every instance, the raising of the young to the enjoyment of the privileges of the adult. Professor Schurtz even states himself that the boundary between the second and third classes (the pubescent youth and the married adult) is no longer presupposed through natural conditions, but depends upon social agreement or personal discretion.<sup>2)</sup>

The initiation of the young into the ranks of the adults is analogous to other similar usages which, among savages, a man or woman on important occasions in their lives are obliged to undergo. Thus the women are in many tribes subject to various rites at different stages of preg-

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<sup>1)</sup> Rust, 'Puberty Ceremony of the Mission Indians', in *American Anthropologist*, N. S. viii. 28.

<sup>2)</sup> Schurtz, *Altersklassen und Männerbünde*, p. 84.

nancy, at childbirth, &c.<sup>1)</sup> The men also have to undergo ceremonies at different occurrences of life. For instance, the sons of chiefs have among certain Indian tribes to pass through severe ordeals and tests before they may assume their father's office.<sup>2)</sup> Priests and magicians are often with many solemnities initiated into their office.<sup>3)</sup> — The name of a person is changed on various other occasions besides at the initiation into manhood. Thus an Andaman Islander is addressed differently after he is married and becomes a father.<sup>4)</sup> As we shall see in the next chapter, men frequently change their names after performing some specially praiseworthy act of bravery, &c. Dr. Crawley has collected a number of instances illustrating the custom of changing names.<sup>5)</sup>

We have adduced the right to marry as separating the older age-class from the younger, and we see that this right, among a people with fixed age-classes, belongs, as a rule, only to such as have undergone initiation. There are also other privileges which distinguish the adult from the youth. It is only after the initiation that an Australian native is permitted to take part in any of the performances which are regarded as sacred,<sup>6)</sup> or in the fights, councils, hunting-parties or dancing-feasts of the elders.<sup>7)</sup> The knowledge of the traditions and mysterious

<sup>1)</sup> Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 313—331. Teit, 'The Lillooet Indians', in *The Jesup Expedition*, v. ii. pt. v. 261 sqq.

<sup>2)</sup> Appun, 'Indianer in Britisch Guayana', in *Ausland*, xliv. 185. Von Martius, *Von dem Rechtszustande unter den Ureinwohnern Brasiliens*, p. 50.

<sup>3)</sup> Landtman, *The Origin of Priesthood*, pp. 112—124. Professor Schurtz treats, among the puberty ceremonies, of the case of a person being brought in to a state of trance in order to come into communication with the gods of his tribe (*Altersklassen und Männerbünde*, pp. 102 sq.). Such a course, however, is a characteristic feature of the preparation of neophytes for the priesthood, and does not as a rule denote the usual initiation to maturity.

<sup>4)</sup> Man 'Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xii. 130.

<sup>5)</sup> Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, pp. 299 sq.

<sup>6)</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 328.

<sup>7)</sup> Cunow, *Verwandschafts-Organisationen der Australneger*, p. 33.



rites of a tribe may also be regarded as a prerogative of the grown-up men, whose duty it is to see to the strict observance of custom.<sup>1)</sup> Still more general is the precedence accorded the old men in the matter of food. In Australia a native is in many cases strictly bound by rules in regard to the kind of food permitted him. Certain kinds of food are prohibited to the young people, being exclusively reserved for the elders.<sup>2)</sup> Among the Narrinyeri thirteen different sorts of game are forbidden to boys,<sup>3)</sup> and among the tribes in the interior of East Australia no young men were allowed to eat the flesh or eggs of the emu.<sup>4)</sup> In the parts visited by Dr. Lumholtz young men were prohibited from eating eels and large lizards,<sup>5)</sup> while Cunow mentions certain vegetables and, above all, various kinds of meat as forbidden to the young men and girls.<sup>6)</sup> The threatened penalty is that the transgressor after eating the forbidden food will be afflicted with sores over all the body,<sup>7)</sup> or become prematurely grey.<sup>8)</sup> — Among the Uaupé Indians, also, the children, more particularly the females, are restricted to a particular diet: they are not allowed to eat any kind of game, or fish, except the very small bony kinds; their food principally consisting of mandioca-cake and fruits.<sup>9)</sup>

As we have seen, young men and women are given a new name at their initiation, and these names constitute in many cases an outward distinction between the older and younger classes of the population. This is especially the case where the initiated, as frequently happens, are not pro-

<sup>1)</sup> Schürmann, 'Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln', in Woods, *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 226. Cunow, *Verwandschafts-Organisationen der Australneger*, p. 33.

<sup>2)</sup> Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, p. xxxv. Fison and Howitt, *Kamiraloï and Kurnai*, p. 197, note. Cunow, *op. cit.*, p. 33. Grey, *Expeditions in N. W. and W. Australia*, ii. 248. Hale, 'Ethnography and Philology', in Wilkes, *U. S. Exploring Expedition*, vi. 113 sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Taplin, 'The Narrinyeri', in Woods, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>4)</sup> Mitchell, *Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia*, ii. 346.

<sup>5)</sup> Lumholtz, *Among Cannibals*, p. 136.

<sup>6)</sup> Cunow, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>7)</sup> Mitchell, *op. cit.*, ii. 347.

<sup>8)</sup> Taplin 'The Narrinyeri', in Woods, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>9)</sup> Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon*, p. 496.

vided with an individual name, but only with a title indicating the age-class to which they belong.<sup>1)</sup>

The painful man-making ceremonies comprehend, as we have seen, such tests as the knocking-out of one or more of the front teeth, or boring of the nose, while the amputation of a finger-joint, incisions in the face and such like, also occur. According to Dr. Crawley, the explanation of similar practices is „sacrificing a part of the body, by way of ensuring the security of the rest and of assisting, by casting it away, the renunciation of the 'old man'.”<sup>2)</sup> ✓ These mutilations and alterations of the outward appearance in certain cases go so far as to become distinct marks for signifying the various age-classes and distinguishing them from one another. Occasionally this distinction appears in another way in the outward equipment of the different classes. In Victoria lads are allowed to wear the ornaments belonging to men only when they have gone through the several stages of initiation.<sup>3)</sup> Mr. Eyre states that a native of those parts is privileged to carry an additional number of implements and weapons according as he advances in life.<sup>4)</sup> In Yap boys before puberty and slaves are not allowed to wear a particular kind of apron.<sup>5)</sup> Among the Masai necklaces of iron and ear-rings are worn to make a distinction between girls and women. No Masai elder may wear the ear-rings called 'surutya' unless he has children who have been circumcised and become warriors and women; but he who has grown-up children may wear 'surutya'.<sup>6)</sup> The Yakomas wear clothes only when grown up, although even then their costume is extremely simple.<sup>7)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> To the instances given before we may add that in Gippsland the word Bungill is a title of respect equivalent to „Mister“, and is borne only by the old men. — Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i. Introduction, p. xxi.

<sup>2)</sup> Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, p. 300.

<sup>3)</sup> Brough Smyth, *op. cit.*, i. 68.

<sup>4)</sup> Eyre, *Expeditions into Central Australia*, ii. 315 sq.

<sup>5)</sup> Gräffe, 'Yap', in *Journal des Museum Godeffroy*, i. 2. p. 16.

<sup>6)</sup> Hollis, *The Masai*, pp. 282, 284.

<sup>7)</sup> Girard, 'Yakomas and Bougous', in *L'Anthropologie*, xii. 81.



Among a number of Indian coast tribes the women wear, as a symbol of maturity, a labret in a slit cut in the lower lip. The incision is first made either in childhood or at puberty, and when maturity is attained a block of wood is inserted.<sup>1)</sup> Young unmarried women of the Akikuyu wear beads in the upper parts of their ears and small sticks in the lobe, but a married woman, as soon as her first child has been circumcised, discards these sticks for hoops of beads. Young men are allowed to wear ornaments as soon as they are circumcised.<sup>2)</sup> — Similarly, by means of their headdress, certain tribes denote different ages. Among the Narrinyeri boys are not allowed to cut or comb their hair from the time they are about ten years of age until they undergo the rites by which they are admitted to the class of men.<sup>3)</sup> At the age of puberty the boys among the New England Indians were permitted to wear their hair long; previous to that period it was cut in various ways.<sup>4)</sup>

Tattooing and incisions in the skin, which are practised on the most dissimilar occasions and for different purposes, serve sometimes to distinguish different age-classes from each other. According to Dr. Lumholtz, certain Australians cut parallel lines across the body. „They always indicate a certain rank determinated by age. Young boys below a certain age are not decorated, but in course of time they get a few lines across the breast and stomach. Gradually the number of lines is increased, and at last when the lad is full grown, crescents are cut round the papillae of the breast.“<sup>5)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Niblack, 'Coast Indians', in *Annual Report of the Boards of Regents*, 1887—88, pp. 256 sq.

<sup>2)</sup> Tate, 'Notes on the Kikuyu and Kamba Tribes', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxxiv. 134.

<sup>3)</sup> Taplin, 'The Narrinyeri', in Woods, *Native Tribes of South Australia*, pp. 15 sq.

<sup>4)</sup> Willoughby, 'Dress and Ornaments of the New England Indians', in *American Anthropologist*, N. S. vii. 499.

<sup>5)</sup> Lumholtz, *Among Cannibals*, pp. 135 sq. — Mr. Meyer reports with regard to the Encounter Bay natives that no particular time is allotted for their practice of making scars upon the breast and shoulders. — 'Manners and Customs of the Aborigines of the Encounter Bay', in Woods, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

The Samoans considered a young man to be in his minority until he was tattooed.<sup>1)</sup> In New Zealand young natives have but few tattoo marks, and slaves have scarcely any; but the older men, especially the more distinguished chiefs, are so covered with them that the natural expression of face is almost hidden under an ornamental mask.<sup>2)</sup> All Kisumu girls are tattooed just below the navel. When, however, a woman first becomes pregnant, more elaborate tattooings are added in front as far up as the breasts, and a belt of markings is carried right round the waist.<sup>3)</sup> Among the Tupinambas of Brazil, as soon as a girl became marriageable, her hair was cut off and her back scarified, and she wore a necklace of the teeth of beasts till the hair had grown again. The scars thus made were considered honourable adornments.<sup>4)</sup>

✓ We have noticed how women and young people under age form groups in the community which are inferior to the rest of the population as regards advantages and rights. Without doubt we see here an instance of social inequality. But we cannot characterize these groups of the people as social classes in the sense in which I have conceived this word in the present work

By classes I understand more or less homogeneous divisions of the population, separated from each other in respect to precedence and privileges. As a rule these different groups represent different employments, whether it be that special avocations are reserved for certain classes, or that there is merely a general division of work between them all. To each class is usually assigned a certain rank. When the difference of class is complete, this rank is hereditary, at least to a certain extent. Inequality in standing and influence may exist without these advantages being necessarily

<sup>1)</sup> Turner, *Samoa*, p. 88; *id.*, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, p. 181.

<sup>2)</sup> Fitzroy, *Narrative of the Voyages of Adventure and Beagle*, ii. 568. Cf. Angas, *Savage Life in Australia and New-Zeeland*, i. 314.

<sup>3)</sup> Hopley, 'Anthropological Studies in Kavirondo and Nandi', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxxiii. 353.

<sup>4)</sup> Southey, *History of Brazil*, i. 240.

hereditary, but in such cases the difference depends upon individual conditions and does not create classes. Without hereditariness, or a tendency to hereditariness, the social position of the citizen varies with the personal conditions on which it is based.

Women do not fall under a class division of this kind. They belong to all classes and occupy in each a more or less subordinate position, but form no class of their own. The classes, as we have conceived them, constitute a division of ranks in a community, while the woman's position, on the contrary, is in the first place a question which concerns the conditions of family life.

Equally obvious is it that the minors in a community stand outside of our definition of classes. The tendency towards hereditariness which distinguishes classes is here self-evidently excluded. After they have grown up the younger enter the ranks of the older.



## CHAPTER II.

*Social Differentiation through Personal Qualities.*

Our task is to investigate the first beginnings of social inequality from which distinct classes or castes have arisen. ✓Classes are a product of evolution, and in many cases a long process of differentiation has taken place before classes with decided characteristics have been developed. What are the factors that have co-operated in bringing about this dissimilarity between human beings?

In theoretical works varying points of view are represented in regard to the question of the origin of classes. ✗Aristotle ascribes class inequality to characteristic peculiarities in human nature itself. „For that some should rule, and others be ruled“, he says in the First Book of his Politics, „is a thing not only necessary, but expedient; from the hour of their birth, some are marked out for subjection, others for rule.“<sup>1)</sup> The great Rousseau, who will always be thought of as one of the warmest hearted dreamers that have been, writes on the origin of society with its system of classes the historical words: „Le premier qui ayant enclos un terrain, s'avisa de dire, ceci est à moi, et trouva des gens assez simple pour le croire, fut le vrai fondateur de la société civile.“<sup>2)</sup> Of modern authors, Dr. Grosse in his work *Formen der Familie* has set forth the acquisition of wealth as one of the chief causes of class inequality. Among the lower races which subsist by hunting, he says, movable property is almost without importance, while that which is most valuable, the hunting-

<sup>1)</sup> *The Politics of Aristotle*, b. i. ch. 5. § 2.

<sup>2)</sup> Rousseau, *De l'Inégalité parmi les Hommes*, p. 95.



ground, is common to all, for which reason the conditions of life among such races are not calculated for the development of classes.<sup>1)</sup>

Several authors have drawn attention to the circumstance that social inequality in numerous instances has arisen through the fusion of different nationalities, in such a manner that the one forms the dominant class in the general community, and the other the dominated. Thus Professor Westermarck holds, in his *History of Human Marriage*, that „castes are frequently, if not always, the consequences of foreign conquest and subjugation, the conquerors becoming the nobility, and the subjugated the commonalty or slaves.“<sup>2)</sup> Dr. Gumpłowicz is likewise of opinion that a thorough historical investigation will show that division into classes is originally connected with ethnical dissimilarities.<sup>3)</sup> The same principle in explaining the rise of classes has been maintained by Professor Peschel<sup>4)</sup> and Professor Post.<sup>5)</sup> Spencer thinks that definite class-distinctions do not exist where the life is permanently peaceful. They are initiated by war through the formation of a slave-class.<sup>6)</sup>

The question of the origin of classes has hitherto as a rule been more or less cursorily treated in works chiefly concerning other subjects. We will now endeavour to examine the various circumstances which have contributed to the rise and development of social differentiation. We shall first regard the question of personal qualities which have a tendency to raise certain individuals at the expense of others, and of the hereditariness of the precedence so acquired. We shall moreover pay attention to the question of wealth as contributing to differentiate groups of citizens from each

<sup>1)</sup> Gross, *Formen der Familie*, pp. 38. sq.

<sup>2)</sup> Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, p. 368.

<sup>3)</sup> Gumpłowicz, *Der Rassenkampf*, pp. 208, 209; *id.*, *Grundriss der Sociologie*, p. 124.

<sup>4)</sup> Peschel, *Völkerkunde*, pp. 253 sq.

<sup>5)</sup> Post, *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, i. 167; *id.*, *Bausteine*, ii. 52 sq.; *id.*, *Ursprung des Rechts*, p. 102; *id.*, *Anfänge des Staats- und Rechtslebens*, pp. 151 sq.

<sup>6)</sup> Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, ii. 290 sqq.

other. Further we shall notice how the arising of a division of work and trade has gone hand in hand with such development. And finally we shall consider the question of how the amalgamation of different peoples has been a factor in creating class inequality.

We have previously pointed out that the lowest races now living are without rank-classes, and there can be no doubt whatever that such a state of things was characteristic of the earliest conditions of the human race in its entirety.

Various influences have tended to differentiate in social respects the homogeneous mass of a people in a natural state. The first to raise themselves above their surroundings were those who by their own eminent qualities made for a longer or shorter time their influence felt over their fellow-tribesmen. The leading position which such persons occupied was undoubtedly more or less contingent and uncertain. It depended upon the confidence reposed in them by the people and could as easily be lost as won. It may be assumed that such a personal superiority was not calculated to conduce to the differentiation of classes. Personal pre-eminence begins and ends with the person who possesses it. And yet, in the dominative position which a member of a primitive community acquires for himself by his personal superiority we cannot but see a species of social inequality. From the personal nobility of merit which distinguishes such a member of a tribe a consistent differentiation has developed itself.

In theoretical literature it has also been noticed how personal superiority constitutes the first advance to social distinction. Rousseau writes thus: "Whoever sings or dances best; whoever is the handsomest, the strongest, the most dexterous, or the most eloquent, becomes the most distinguished; and this was the first step toward inequality, and at the same time toward vice."<sup>1</sup>) In a work from 1803 on *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks* by Mr. W. Millar we read that in the rudest and most barbarous age "there are no

<sup>1</sup>) Rousseau, *De l'Inégalité parmi les Hommes*, p. 112.



distinctions among individuals, but those which arise from their age and experience, from their strength, courage, and other personal qualities".<sup>1)</sup> Nieboer makes the same observation in his book *Slavery as an Industrial System*,<sup>2)</sup> and Dr. Post mentions as a first cause of hereditary nobility, that certain families raise themselves by their pre-eminent personal qualities.<sup>3)</sup>

✓ Social inequality resulting from personal conditions exists in every community, it always has existed, and always will exist. — In the preceding chapter we have seen how old age and the experience which it has won confers distinction and power. ✓ Other personal attributes also raise a man above his tribesmen. Supposed supernatural gifts are frequently combined with influence even in worldly affairs. Those who are feared for their magical powers, or for their connection with the gods, are also generally listened to in matters of political concern. In my dissertation on *The Origin of Priesthood* I have shown how the priesthood, which also includes sorcerers or magicians, already in the lowest stage of development differentiates itself from the rest of the population.<sup>4)</sup> In many tribes we see how the priests and magicians in all sorts of matters exercise influence over their countrymen.<sup>5)</sup> Respecting the Wakamba in East Africa, for instance, one writer relates that „above all, the reputation of being a magician and rain-maker is the surest means by which a Wakamba can attain power and importance, and secure the obe-

<sup>1)</sup> Millar, *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks*, p. 15.

<sup>2)</sup> Nieboer, *Slavery as an Industrial System*, p. 194.

<sup>3)</sup> Post, *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, i. 167; *id.*, *Entstehung des Rechts*, p. 102; *id.*, *Anfänge des Staats- und Rechtslebens*, p. 151.

<sup>4)</sup> Landtman, *The Origin of Priesthood*, pp. 10—13. Cf. Grosse in *Formen der Familie*: Among the lower hunters „the whole male population forms a homogeneous undifferentiated mass from which only those individuals emerge who are thought to possess magical powers. These sorcerers are the only ones who enjoy a greater influence.“ P. 39.

<sup>5)</sup> In his *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, Dr. Frazer shows us how „the public profession of magic has been one of the roads by which the ablest men have passed to supreme power.“ Pp. 83—88.



dience of his countrymen.<sup>1)</sup> Among the Fuegians, „there is no superiority of one over another — — except that acquired by age, sagacity, and daring conduct; but the doctor-wizard of each party has much influence over his companions.“<sup>2)</sup> Referring to the classless Eskimo an explorer says: If, besides the aged, there is any one who can exercise a certain power of decision, it is their priest, the Ankut.<sup>3)</sup> In Aneitum of the New Hebrides famous disease-makers are among the most influential men,<sup>4)</sup> and, similarly, among the rude Adelaide and Encounter Bay aborigines of Australia, those who practise magic are said to exercise a certain amount of influence, which is also the case with their old men and with those possessing superior strength and courage.<sup>5)</sup>

From descriptions of the lower races we learn that eloquence is also held in much esteem and that the possession of this gift can establish a man in the highest degree of personal consideration. This was the case for instance among the Iroquois, of which Mr. H. Morgan says that by the cultivation and exercise of eloquence „was opened the pathway to distinction; and the chief or warrior gifted with its magical power could elevate himself as rapidly as he who gained renown on the warpath.“<sup>6)</sup> It is stated that among the Guarani „a good orator, if he had the reputation of courage, obtained influence enough to form an independent community, and place himself at its head.“<sup>7)</sup> Similarly among the Araucanians „oratory is particularly held in high estimation, and — — is the highroad to honour, and the management of public affairs.“<sup>8)</sup> Much to the same effect is stated with

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<sup>1)</sup> Krapf, *Travels in Eastern Africa*, p. 355.

<sup>2)</sup> Fitzroy, *Narrative of the Voyages of Adventure and Beagle*, ii. 178.

<sup>3)</sup> Klutschak, *Als Eskimo unter den Eskimos*, p. 230.

<sup>4)</sup> Inglis, *In the New Hebrides*, p. 24.

<sup>5)</sup> Wyatt, 'Account of the Adelaide and Encounter Bay Aboriginal Tribes', in Woods, *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 168.

<sup>6)</sup> Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, p. 107.

<sup>7)</sup> Southey, *History of Brazil*, ii. 376.

<sup>8)</sup> Alcedo, *Dictionary of America and the West Indies*, i. 413. — See also, D'Orbigny, *L'Homme Américain*, i. 399.

reference to able speakers among the Bechuanas<sup>1)</sup> and the New Zealand aborigines.<sup>2)</sup>

\*Physical power and dexterity are among all uncivilized peoples held in high estimation, and naturally may be of great service to a man during his adventurous life. Whoever gives proof of his superior strength, whoever excites admiration by his bravery and gains renown as a skilful hunter or a victorious warrior, compels respect and recognition from his tribesmen, and will make his voice heard among them. „A nobility of weapons“, says Dr. Grosse, „must everywhere arise where men can win honour and influence in the field, and where warlike efficiency is indispensable for the safety of the community.“<sup>3)</sup> Professor Schurtz also lays stress upon warlike capacity as a means by which a man may raise himself; he considers, moreover, that the best prospects in this respect are to be found in communities where a ruling power is already established.<sup>4)</sup>

Among a hunting people it is self-evident that courage and skill in bringing down game must confer consequence. Thus we gather concerning the Aleuts that „the most respected and influential were those who were most successful in the chase. The great ambition of the Aleut was to be a great hunter. Those who were unsuccessful were looked upon with more or less contempt.“<sup>5)</sup> Among the Wintun of California, whenever a man is so fortunate as to kill a black bear, they celebrate „the black-bear dance“ at which the lucky hunter is a hero,<sup>6)</sup> and a similar custom is observed in Beli in Central Africa when a young man has killed a buffalo, an elephant, a lion or a leopard.<sup>7)</sup> A Hottentot who has singly encountered and slain some big game is considered a hero.

<sup>1)</sup> Moffat, *Missionary Labours in Southern Africa*, pp. 248 sq.

<sup>2)</sup> Shortland, *Traditions of the New Zealanders*, p. 186. Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, p. 353.

<sup>3)</sup> Grosse, *Formen der Familie*, p. 138.

<sup>4)</sup> Schurtz, *Urgeschichte der Kultur*, p. 148.

<sup>5)</sup> Dall, *Alaska*, p. 388.

<sup>6)</sup> Powers, 'Tribes of California', in *Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, iii. 240.

<sup>7)</sup> Emin Pasha, *Central Africa*, p. 349.



He looks upon himself as raised to the height of human glory and „demands the homage which Hottentot custom assigns to his high dignity, and which all his countrymen constantly pay him.“<sup>1)</sup> The killing of a lion is by the Kafirs regarded as very heroic, although the hunter after his exploit is considered unclean and has to undergo a purification ceremony.<sup>2)</sup>

Among most savage peoples, however, warlike renown is what is most eagerly striven after as the surest road to eminence. The American Indians in particular afford an example of how a man's worth is gauged according to his achievements in war. „Only courage and intrepidity“, we read regarding the Caribs in British Guiana, „can confer a claim to respect; the more a hero distinguished himself by boldness and temerity, so much the more was his name glorified in the war-songs.“<sup>3)</sup> In Nicaragua those who have been victorious in single combat in the sight of the armies are called by a special name. Like knights they are highly esteemed and honoured.<sup>4)</sup> Among the Abipones, whoever has given proofs of warlike valour is initiated into warlike honours with certain ceremonies.<sup>5)</sup> A Sioux was elevated to a grade of merit or bravery if, besides giving feasts to his tribesmen, he had killed several of the foe and had brought home many horses.<sup>6)</sup> Among the Indians of North Carolina<sup>7)</sup> as also in the Blackfeet tribe<sup>8)</sup> bravery was rewarded by social recognition.

But also in other parts of the world besides America, renown as a warrior increases a man's influence as a member of a community. With respect to the Bamanwato in South Africa, for instance, it is stated that „those who have distinguished themselves in war, having something to talk about,

<sup>1)</sup> Kolben, *Present State of the Cape of Good-Hope*, pp. 250, 251.

<sup>2)</sup> Alberti, *Kaffern*, p. 123.

<sup>3)</sup> Schomburgk, *Reisen in British-Guiana*, ii. 430

<sup>4)</sup> Oviedo, *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, lib. xlii. cap. i.

<sup>5)</sup> Dobrizhoffer, *Abipones*, ii. 440 sq.

<sup>6)</sup> Dorsey, 'Omaha Sociology', in *Smithsonian Reports*, iii. 333.

<sup>7)</sup> Lawson, *History of Carolina*, p. 198.

<sup>8)</sup> Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 245.



are generally the most eager to be heard, and all the abusive epithets they can command are heaped upon their less distinguished fellows, chiefly the young men.“<sup>1)</sup> In Borneo „personal merit and bravery will carry a Dyak of any origin to the very highest positions attainable in a community so democratic.“<sup>2)</sup> Respecting the Western tribe of Torres Straits Dr. Haddon mentions that great warriors, bullies, or men with extra mental ability became the recognized leaders, although they possessed no real power or authority.<sup>3)</sup> Statements to the same effect refer to the Maoris<sup>4)</sup> and Australians.<sup>5)</sup>

✓Manliness and strength of mind are always accompanied by recognition and advancement, and sometimes this is the case even without any proofs of warlike exploits being given. Thus, for instance, the Mandan Indians inflicted tortures upon their young men in order that they might thereby show the degree of fortitude they possessed. „The chiefs and dignitaries of the tribe are looking on, to decide who are the hardest and stoutest hearted — who can hang the longest by his flesh before he faints, and who will be soonest up, after he has been down — that they may know whom to appoint to lead a war party, or place at the most honourable and desperate post.“<sup>6)</sup> The Yucatan Indians tattooed their bodies „and the more they did so the more gallant and strong they thought themselves, as tattooing was accompanied with much pain — —. Those who omitted it were sneered at.“<sup>7)</sup> Before a Guaycuru could be admitted to the rank of a warrior, he had to give proof of his courage by showing that he could endure pain as if he were insensible to it.

<sup>1)</sup> Chapman, *Travels in South Africa*, i. 104.

<sup>2)</sup> Boyle, *Adventures among the Dyaks*, p. 285.

<sup>3)</sup> Haddon, 'Western Tribe of Torres Straits', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xix. 329.

<sup>4)</sup> Gudgeon, 'The Toa T'aua', in *Jour. Polyn. Soc.* xiii. 238.

<sup>5)</sup> Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, ii. 295.

<sup>6)</sup> Donaldson, 'The George Catlin Indian Gallery', in *Annual Report of the Board of Regents*, 1884—85, pt. i. 365.

<sup>7)</sup> Landa, *Relation des Choses de Yucatan*, § xxi.

This he did by cutting and piercing himself in the tenderest parts.<sup>1)</sup>

Personal dexterity which obtains consideration must not, when it is a question of savage tribes, be always understood according to civilized ideas. Theft, murder and treacheries, which call for the same ability as does warlike efficiency, are by no means invariably reprobated, but on the contrary, obtain in many instances a certain recognition. This is chiefly the case when they are practised upon some member of a strange tribe, which at times is even expressly anticipated.<sup>2)</sup> Among the Cherkesses of the Caucasus an expert thief boasts of his successful theft with as much pride as of his bravery; it is only the unskilful one who is punished with public scorn.<sup>3)</sup> By the Tchukches stealing is considered reputable, provided a man does not steal in his own tribe,<sup>4)</sup> and of the Kookies it is reported that the practice of thieving is held in high estimation, by reason that the same sagacity and address necessary to give success to the thief are also of importance to the warrior.<sup>5)</sup> „The Arab robber,“ says Burckhardt, „considers his profession as honourable: and the term *harámy*, (robber) is one of the most flattering titles that could be conferred upon a youthful hero.“<sup>6)</sup> A Somali thinks it a point of honour to steal as many cattle with as little personal risk as possible, and those who expose themselves unnecessarily are only accounted foolhardy.<sup>7)</sup> Hequard writes from his visit to the West African tribes: „Le vol est en grand honneur chez les Balantes. Les plus adroits sont les plus considérés. — — Quand les jeunes gens ont atteint ce degré d'habileté, ils sont sûrs de trouver facilement à se

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1) Southey, *History of Brazil*, i. 118.

2) Prof. Westermarck gives us several examples showing that robbers, in distinction from thieves, are not unfrequently regarded with admiration. — *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, ii. 16 sq.

3) Bodenstedt, *Völker des Kaukasus*, ii. 50.

4) Крашененниковъ, *Камуамка*, ii. 162.

5) Macrae, 'Account of the Kookies', in *Asiatic Researches*, vii. 189.

6) Burckhardt, *Bedouins and Wahábys*, i. 157 sq.

7) Swayne, *Lake Victoria*, p. 18.



marier.“<sup>1)</sup> Similarly in America. Among the Blackfeet taking horses from the foe „at once became what may be called an established industry. — Success brought wealth and fame.“<sup>2)</sup> A Tlinkit thief does not lose his reputation.<sup>3)</sup> The Osage Indians are said to „deem it one of the attributes of a great man to pilfer from his neighbours or friends and avoid detection.“<sup>4)</sup> And, lastly, we read that among the Yuki, „thievery is a virtue — — as it was with the ancient Spartans, provided the thief is sly enough not to get caught.“<sup>5)</sup>

Even as the slaying of an enemy in war is glorious, so a certain respect is generally associated with the killing of a man, without any special reference to the circumstances under which the killing was committed. Thus among the Ba-Huana in West Africa, „murder which may be compensated is not considered disgraceful; on the contrary, a murderer is respected as a clever and brave man.“<sup>6)</sup> To a Maori, whether Christian or heathen, „the mere deliberate killing of a man — however small the provocation — is not murder; it is in fact generally regarded as a somewhat praiseworthy action.“<sup>7)</sup> Neither among the Tunguses was murder, following after a previous quarrel, considered as a capital crime. The murderer was flogged, and had to support the family of the dead man, but he not only escaped censure, but was even considered to have shown bravery.<sup>8)</sup>

Of the honour which a man gains for himself through his exploits in the chase or in war, the trophies of which he has

<sup>1)</sup> Hecquard, *Voyage sur la Côte de l'Afrique Occidentale*, p. 116.

<sup>2)</sup> Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 244.

<sup>3)</sup> Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, p. 167.

<sup>4)</sup> Donaldsson 'The George Catlin Indian Gallery', in *Annual Report of the Board of Regents*, 1884—85, pt. ii. 45.

<sup>5)</sup> Powers, 'Tribes of California' in *Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, iii. 133.

<sup>6)</sup> Torday and Joyce, 'Ethnography of the Ba-Huana', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxxvi. 288.

<sup>7)</sup> Gudgeon, 'The Maori People', in *Jour. Polyn. Soc.* xiii. 178.

<sup>8)</sup> Georgi, *Russland*, i. 311.



become possessed serve as tokens. These memorials of bravery and address, which allow a man's achievements to appear in the sight of all, tend outwardly to manifest his superiority over those of his fellow-tribesmen who cannot make a display of similar decorations.

Hunting trophies are thus proofs of the bringing down of one or another animal, the killing of which is calculated to bring honour to the hunter. Such trophies are met with among numerous peoples. The Moxo tribes in Brazil wore „strings of the teeth and pieces of skin from the beasts which they had killed.“<sup>1)</sup> Most highly considered among the Bororó were the great teeth of the jaguar as breast-ornaments. Of jaguar claws a circlet was made to go round the head.<sup>2)</sup> Von Martius relates that he once vainly endeavoured to purchase a necklace of the teeth of beasts worn by a Mirahas; this ornament, which was a proof of successful bravery in hunting, and which exalted the wearer in the eyes of his tribesmen, was considered too valuable to be sold.<sup>3)</sup> Among the Ioways, the most precious trophies next to the scalps were „the claws of that most ferocious and dangerous animal, the grizzly bear, which, like the scalps, are worn as trophies — as proofs that the wearer has vanquished so formidable an enemy.“<sup>4)</sup> A Hottentot hunter wears, fastened to his hair, the bladder of the beast he has killed.<sup>5)</sup> As a European hunter fastens the feathers of some rare bird in his hat, so the Bushman sticks them into his hair. Claws, teeth and small horns he makes into a necklace.<sup>6)</sup> Trophies of the chase consist among the Abarambo of the skulls of slain animals. They are fastened to trees in the vicinity of the hunter's residence „and are as a real blazon, attesting his courage in hunting.“<sup>7)</sup> — Spencer has very strikingly pointed out the significance of trophies of the chase as means of distinction when saying: „Trophies of such

<sup>1)</sup> Southey, *History of Brazil*, iii. 203.

<sup>2)</sup> Von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Central-Brasiliens*, pp. 478 sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Von Martius, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie Amerika's*, i. 89.

<sup>4)</sup> Donaldson, 'The George Catlin Indian Gallery', in *Annual Report of the Board of Regents*, 1884–85, pt. i. 148.

<sup>5)</sup> Kolben, *Present State of the Cape of Good-Hope*, i. 251.

<sup>6)</sup> Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrikas*, p. 429.

<sup>7)</sup> Casati, *Dieci Anni in Equatoria*, i. 129.

kinds, even among ourselves, give to their owner some influence over those around him. A traveller who has brought from Africa a pair of elephant's tusks, or the formidable horn of a rhinoceros, impresses those who come in contact with him as a man of courage and resource, and, therefore, as one not to be trifled with. A vague kind of governing power accrues to him. Naturally, by primitive men, whose lives are predatory and whose respective values largely depend on their powers as hunters, animal-trophies are still more prized and tend, in greater degrees, to bring honour and influence.<sup>1)</sup>

Trophies which denote the vanquishing and enslaving of a human enemy are, however, still more highly valued than hunting trophies. The reason for this is explained by Spencer in the following manner: „As among the uncivilized and semi-civilized, human enemies are more to be feared than beast-enemies, and conquests over men are therefore occasions of greater triumphs than conquests over animals, it results that proofs of such conquests are usually still more valued. A brave who returns from battle does not obtain honour if his boasts are unsupported by evidence; but if he proves that he has killed his man by bringing back some part of him — especially a part which the corpse cannot yield in duplicate -- he raises his character in the tribe and increases his power.“<sup>2)</sup> As thus stated by Spencer, a war-trophy, in order that its significance may be complete, must afford a certain proof that an enemy has been killed. Therefore a man was, in the first instance, careful to secure such a trophy of victory as could leave no doubt of its authenticity. This is evidently one reason why in warfare a man cut off the whole head of a slain enemy, to be preserved as a trophy. Such a custom we find among the natives in America,<sup>3)</sup> and Australasia,<sup>4)</sup> and

<sup>1)</sup> Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, ii. 36.

<sup>2)</sup> *Ib.*, ii. 37. — Spencer gives numerous instances of war-trophies in their different forms, *ib.*, ii. 39 sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Nelson, 'The Eskimo about Bering Strait', in *Smithsonian Reports*, xviii. 329. Powers, 'Tribes of California', in *Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, iii. 21 (Karak). Goddard, 'Life of the Hupa', in *University of California Publications*, i. n:r i. 62 (Californian tribes). Swan, 'Indians of Cape Flattery', in *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, xvi. n:r viii. 5 (Makahs). Herrera, *General History of the West-Indies*, vi. 75 (Indians of Chile). Southey, *History of Brazil*, i. 589 (Omaguas). Grubb, *Among the Paraguayan Chaco*, p. 87.



among certain other peoples as well.<sup>1)</sup> Amongst the Angahmee Nagahs it is even considered a point of honour to recover the skulls of friends who have fallen in an attack made on their villages. Prisoners are always decapitated if they refuse to accompany or return with the victors to their homes.<sup>2)</sup> Among the natives of British Borneo any man who took a head was looked upon as very brave, no matter in what way he had obtained it. A woman's or child's head was considered just as good as a man's. It sometimes happened that people bought prisoners or captives in order to kill them and get possession of their heads.<sup>3)</sup> — We have to notice that heads are not invariably taken for the mere sake of serving as trophies. There are facts which go far to corroborate Mr. Crawley's suggestion that in many cases it is believed „the original owner of the head becomes the minister of his slayer, in some cases that he will serve him in the life to come.“<sup>4)</sup>

In order to preserve the heads different methods are resorted to. Several peoples dry or otherwise prepare the severed heads in such a way that they retain more or less their original appearance. They are generally used afterwards to ornament the conqueror's dwelling; in exceptional cases we learn that the victor wears them on his person.<sup>5)</sup> The Abipones draw the skin from the skull and stuff it with grass. After being dried a little in the air, it looks like a wig, and

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<sup>1)</sup> Rosenberg, *Der Malayische Archipel*, p. 169 (People of Nias). Wallace, *Malay Archipelago*, i. 139 (Dyaks). Schwaner, *Borneo*, i. 193 (Natives of the Barito River basin). Finsch, *New Guinea*, p. 99. D'Albelis, *New Guinea*, ii. 10. Codrington, *Melanesians*, p. 3.6. Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, ii. 122, 254 (Natives of Samoa and the Marquesas Islands). Yate, *Accounts of New Zealand*, p. 134.

<sup>2)</sup> Ellis, *Ewe-speaking Peoples*, p. 190. Macree 'Account of the Kookies', in *Asiatick Researches*, vii. 195.

<sup>3)</sup> Butler, *Travels and Adventures in Assam*, p. 156.

<sup>4)</sup> Pryer, 'Natives of British Borneo', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* 233. sq.

<sup>5)</sup> Crawley, *The Tree of Life*, p. 106. Cf. Haddon, *Head-Hunters*, p. 394.

<sup>6)</sup> Instances are offered by Henderson, *A History of Brazil*, p. 475; Spix and v. Martius, *Reise in Brasilien*, ii. 1314 (Mundurucus). Lesson, *Les Polynésien*, i. 231. Bock, *Head-Hunters of Borneo*, p. 219 (Dyaks). Finsch, *New Guinea*, p. 83. Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, ii. 39. Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, i. 327; a. o.



is preserved as a trophy.<sup>1)</sup> A similar custom is observed by the Ivaros of Equador.<sup>2)</sup>

In other cases the skulls are cleaned from the flesh, after which they are, like the dried heads, preserved to decorate the dwelling of the victor.<sup>3)</sup> Herodotus tells us that the Scythians sawed off from the skulls of their greatest enemies all below the eyebrows and cleared out the inside; they then made use of them as drinking cups.<sup>4)</sup> The same practice is known to have existed among certain Teutonic peoples. Cannibals sometimes preserve the bones of their captives after cooking and eating the flesh.<sup>5)</sup>

It must, however, have been inconvenient to the victorious warrior, when desirous of adorning himself with trophies which attested his deeds of valour, to carry about with him so large a portion of his enemy's body as the head or skull. Undoubtedly it was some such reason that led to the taking of trophies which could easily be worn on a man's person or dress and which yet constituted so essential a part of the vanquished foe that all doubt as to the deed having been actually accomplished was excluded.<sup>6)</sup> The custom of taking scalps, for instance, must evidently be explained in this manner.<sup>7)</sup> It is well known how universal this practice is, especially among the Indians of North America. Scalping is performed by them very

<sup>1)</sup> Dobrizhoffer, *Abipones*, ii. 409.

<sup>2)</sup> 'Menschenköpfe als Trophäer', in *Globus*, xxi. 340

<sup>3)</sup> Preservation of skulls as tokens of valour has been instanced by: Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, p. 39 (Nagas of Upper Assam). Haddon, *Head-Hunters*, pp. 107, 115, 332; *id.*, 'Warfare', in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition*, v. 298, 300 (Tribes of Torres Straits and the interior of Borneo). Meinicke, *op. cit.*, i. 231. Brainne, *Nouvelle Calédonie*, p. 246 (New Caledonians). Lisiansky, *Voyage round the World*, p. 87 (Markesas Islanders). Langsdorff, *Voyages in Various Parts of the World*, i. 150 (Washington's Islanders). Cheyne, *Western Pacific Ocean*, p. 17 (Loyalty Islanders). Blumentritt, 'Kianganen', in *Ausland*, lxiv. 130. Hutter, *Nord-Hinterland von Kamerun*, pp. 358, 367. Telfer, *Crimea and Transcaucasia*, ii. 115 (Inhabitants of Swannety); *a. o.*

<sup>4)</sup> *The History of Herodotus*, b. iv. ch. 65.

<sup>5)</sup> Bancroft, *Works*, i. 581 (Northern Mexicans).

<sup>6)</sup> Cf. Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, ii. 41.

<sup>7)</sup> Cf. Friederici, 'Scalping in America', in *Smithsonian Reports*, 1906, p. 425.

much in the same way everywhere. They cut off a patch of the skin from the top of the victim's head when killed in battle, and preserve it, with the hair on it, as a trophy. The scalp, or parts of it, are generally used to decorate the victor's dress, weapons or implements.<sup>1)</sup>

Originally the scalps must have indicated the veritable killing of a man's enemies, one for each scalp. More than one scalp was not allowed having reference to the same deed; but the warrior contented himself with this token of victory instead of bearing about with him an altogether too inconvenient proof of his prowess in battle. Many circumstances regarding the taking of scalps indicate that this was the case. It is said, for instance, that the Dacotahs, if they have the time and the person killed is of importance, will take the entire scalp, including the eyebrows and ears,<sup>2)</sup> and this is manifestly done for the purpose of securing unimpeachable evidence that an illustrious enemy has been killed. Among the Mandans a genuine scalp must include and show the crown

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<sup>1)</sup> Of writers who speak of the scalp-taking among the American Indians some may be mentioned: Holmberg, *Völker des russischen Amerika*, p. 322; Dall, *Alaska*, p. 417 (Tlinkets). Niblack, 'Coast Indians', in *Annual Report of the Board of Regents*, 1887—88, p. 341. Catlin, *Letters on the North American Indians*, i. 31 (Blackfeet) Dixon, 'The Northern Maidu', in *Bull. of the Am. Museum of Natural History*, xvii. pt. iii. 206. Beckwith, 'Customs of the Dacotahs', in *Ann. Rep. of the Board of Regents*, 1885—86, pt. i. 252. Donaldson, 'The George Catlin Indian Gallery', *ib.*, 1884—85, pt. i. 150 sq., 412 sq. (Ioways and Mandans). Bancroft, *Works*, i. 488 (Apache). Neighbors, 'The Comanches in Texas', in Schoolcraft, *Information of the Indian Tribes*, ii. 132. Lawson, *History of Carolina*, p. 198. Bossu, *Voyages aux Indes Occidentales*, ii. 94 (Chactas) — According to Herodotus scalp-taking was also practised by the ancient Scythians. A Scythian warrior, after bringing to his king the head of an enemy slain in battle, „takes off the skin of the head by cutting it round about the ears and then taking hold of the scalp and shaking it off; afterwards he scrapes off the flesh with the rip of an ox, and works the skin about with his hands; and when he has thus tempered it, he keeps it as a napkin to wipe his hands upon, and hangs it from the bridle of the horse on which he himself rides, and takes pride in it“. B. iv. ch. 64.

<sup>2)</sup> Beckwith, 'Customs of the Dacotahs', in *Ann. Rep. of the Board of Regents*, 1885—86, pt. i. 252. — Herodotus says, with reference to the Scythians, that „many also take the skins off the whole bodies of men and stretch them on pieces of wood and carry them about on their horses“. B. iv. ch. 64.



and centre of the head, „of which they all profess to be strict judges, and able to decide whether an endeavour has been made to produce two or more scalps from one head.“ The trophy is regarded „as proof positive that its possessor has killed an enemy in battle“, and it is expressly stated that „a scalp, to be a genuine one, must have been taken from the head of an *enemy*, and that enemy *dead*.“<sup>1)</sup> The same is reported with regard to scalp-taking among the Black-feet Indians.<sup>2)</sup> — The peculiar condition also of certain other trophies is in itself a proof that not more than one such may be taken from the same slaughtered enemy. A successful Bechuana warrior brings a piece of flesh from the person he has killed, with the skin cut from the body, having the navel in it.<sup>3)</sup>

To the same category of trophies as scalps belong other small portions of an enemy's body which a victor carries off as proof of his deed. Many Indians, as the tribes of North Carolina<sup>4)</sup> and of Paraguay<sup>5)</sup> as well as the Moxo<sup>6)</sup> and the Bororó<sup>7)</sup> of Brazil wear strings of the teeth of enemies as a decoration. The Dahomeans<sup>8)</sup> and certain other peoples<sup>9)</sup> wear among other trophies the jawbones of their enemies, which they fasten upon their arms or implements. In Tahiti they strip the skin with the beard from the chins of slain enemies, and carry them off as trophies,<sup>10)</sup> and, finally, to quote Herodotus, the ancient Scythians, who had a great number of various trophies, took the skin together with the finger

<sup>1)</sup> Donaldson, 'The George Catlin Indian Gallery', in *Ann. Rep. of the Board of Regents*, 1884—85, pt. i. 150, 151, 413.

<sup>2)</sup> Catlin, *Letters on the North American Indians*, i. 31.

<sup>3)</sup> Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa*, ii. 330.

<sup>4)</sup> Lawson, *History of Carolina*, p. 198.

<sup>5)</sup> Coreal, *Voyages aux Indes Occidentales*, i. 240.

<sup>6)</sup> Southey, *History of Brazil*, iii. 203.

<sup>7)</sup> Von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, p. 479.

<sup>8)</sup> Ellis, *Ewe-Speaking Peoples*, p. 190.

<sup>9)</sup> Von den Steinen, *op. cit.*, p. 479. Landa, *Relation des Choses de Yucatan*, § xxix.

<sup>10)</sup> Bougainville, *Voyage round the World*, p. 253.



nails off the right hands of their enemies when they were dead, and made them into covers for their quivers.<sup>1)</sup> — In certain cases what seem to be trophies may also serve another purpose, as for instance the transmission of properties. Some Queensland tribes, we are told, used to flay a slain enemy and preserve the skin as a powerful „medicine.“ They would cover their patients with it as with a blanket.<sup>2)</sup>

Nothing can be more natural than that such trophies on the savage's plane of life should possess great importance as influencing a man's position among his fellows. Unquestionably they are a powerful factor in contributing to the attainment of personal distinction. „The chief aim of the decoration“, says Dr. Hirn, „is, of course, not to make the man more beautiful and charming, but only to show off his skill and courage, and thus to inspire respect and fear. It is needless to point out that in times of war such decorations must be of eminent advantage by inspiring their wearer with pride at the same time that they strike his enemies with terror.“<sup>3)</sup> A trophy, to quote Mr. Donaldson, who speaks of the Mandans, although his words no doubt have a far wider range, may oftentimes be of great service to a man living in a community where there is no historian to chronicle the names of the famous.<sup>4)</sup> Numerous examples show the effectiveness of trophies in the above sense: „The character of a hunter or warrior is often established according to the number of his trophies“, „those who have the most heads excel the most in renown.“<sup>5)</sup> Sometimes the taking of a trophy from an enemy seems to

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<sup>1)</sup> *The History of Herodotus*, b. iv. ch. 64. — Spencer has supplied a number of instances showing how different parts of the body have been used as trophies. — *Principles of Sociology*, ii, 1. pp. 41—44.

<sup>2)</sup> Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, p. 111.

<sup>3)</sup> Hirn, *The Origins of Art*, p. 222.

<sup>4)</sup> Donaldson, 'The George Catlin Indian Gallery', in *Ann. Rep. of the Board of Regents*, 1884—85, pt. i. 413.

<sup>5)</sup> Cf. Dobrizhoffer, *Abipones*, p. 409. Featherman, *Social History of the Races of Mankind*, iii. 206 (Shoshones). Jones, *History of the Ojebway Indians*, p. 130. Friederici, 'Scalping in America', in *Smithsonian Reports*, 1906, 437 sq. Macree, 'Account of the Kookies', in *Asiatick Researches*, vii. 195. Letourneau, *Esclavage*, p. 43 (Papuan).

be an honour quite independent of that of vanquishing him. „To kill your adversary“, Messrs. Lewis and Clarke write regarding to Shoshones, „is of no importance unless the scalp is brought from the field of battle, and were a warrior to slay any number of his enemies in action, and others were to obtain the scalps or first touch the dead, they would have all the honours, since they have borne off the trophy.“<sup>1)</sup> Describing how a victory was celebrated in Samoa Mr. Pritchard writes: „The excitement of the successful warrior is intense as he passes before the chief with his bleeding trophy, capering in the most fantastic evolutions, with blackened face and oiled body, — — all the while shouting in his loudest voice, „Ou te mau tagata, ou te mau tagata,“ „I have my man, I have my man.“ To a young Samoan, this is the realization of his highest ambition — —. Then again, when the war is over, and he returns to his village, to hear his companions rehearse the exploit, and the girls pronounce him „toa“, „brave“, — then it is that you see in their very perfection the complacent dignity and latent pride that lurk within that brown-skinned islander.“<sup>2)</sup> The Wild Dyaks practise head-hunting in order to show their bravery and manliness: that it may be said so and so has obtained heads. „When they quarrel“, Mr. St. John tells us, „it is a constant phrase, 'How many heads did your father or grandfather get?' If less than their own number, well then, you have no occasion to be proud.“<sup>3)</sup> In the Mishmee Hills of India the wealth of a chief is calculated according to the number of heads which he has taken, and these also form a kind of currency among the tribes, slaves and knives being purchased for so many heads each. A young man pays the price of his wife in heads.<sup>4)</sup> Among the Indians West of the Mississippi, when the election of a chief takes place, the preference is generally given to those who can exhibit the greatest number of trophies; though age has also a great

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<sup>1)</sup> Lewis and Clarke, *Travels to the Missouri River*, p. 309.

<sup>2)</sup> Pritchard, *Polynesian Reminiscences*, pp. 57 sq.

<sup>3)</sup> St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, ii. 27.

<sup>4)</sup> Cooper, *The Mishmee Hills*, pp. 190, 236.



weight.<sup>1)</sup> And among the Mundrucus a man who can exhibit ten heads is eligible to the rank of chief.<sup>2)</sup>

From trophies have developed special marks of distinction, or badges, for glorious deeds. These differ from the trophies inasmuch as they do not constitute a direct spoil obtained in the execution of the deed to which they have reference. They are symbols, or traditional tokens, the significance of which is known, at all events in the tribe, although they do not necessarily stand in direct connection with the actions indicated by them. It is obvious that there would be difficulty in always maintaining a strict line of demarcation between trophies and badges, and we meet with some examples of distinguishing marks which occupy a place between the two.<sup>3)</sup>

There are wellnigh innumerable kinds of badges or tokens for bravery of some of which we will give instances. Usually the brave are allowed to indicate their deed of valour by means of certain ornaments which it is their privilege to wear, or else by their dress. Thus the Guechas, or warriors, of the Chibchas had their lips, noses, and ears pierced, and hung from them strings of gold quills, the number of which corresponded with that of the enemies they had killed in battle.<sup>4)</sup> In Amhara in North East Africa a warrior, for each enemy slain, is entitled to some conspicuous personal badge, which forms his greatest pride. A ring or a bracelet, gained even by acts the most dastardly, raises him accordingly in the estimation of relatives and companions in arms.<sup>5)</sup> Ivory earrings as badges to denote the taking of heads are used in Timor, where they are said to command much respect for their wearers,<sup>6)</sup> while among the Masai warriors of a certain title,

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<sup>1)</sup> Hunter, *Memoirs of a Captivity among the Indians*, p. 315.

<sup>2)</sup> Henderson, *A History of Brazil*, p. 475.

<sup>3)</sup> A warrior of the Angahmee Nagahs, for instance, wears a collar made of goat's hair, dyed red, intermingled with long flowing locks of the hair of the persons he has killed, and ornamented with cowrie shells. — Butler, *Travels and Adventures in Assam*, p. 145.

<sup>4)</sup> Joaq. Acosta, *Compendio Historico de la Neuva Granada*, p. 219.

<sup>5)</sup> Harris, *Highlands of Aethiopia*, ii. 208.

<sup>6)</sup> Studer, 'Timor', in *Deutsche Geographische Blätter*, ii. 240.



who have killed many enemies, are allowed to wear bells or a bracelet called *il-torongen*.<sup>1)</sup> In the South part of Nias a brave warrior is rewarded with a highly valued neck-ring.<sup>2)</sup> If a Dahomey warrior has killed an enemy in war he attaches a cowrie to the stock of his gun, which is reckoned an honourable distinction,<sup>3)</sup> and in a similar case a man of the Angahme Nagahs has three or four rows of cowries fastened round his dress.<sup>4)</sup> Ornaments are used as badges also among the Omahas of the Sioux race.<sup>5)</sup> When among the Alforas of Ceram a man has made conquest of a head, he obtains the privilege of adorning his costume with paintings, and his smooth wooden shield with shells. The paintings are the special privilege of those, whose hands have dripped with human blood, and are looked upon as the reward of deeds of glory.<sup>6)</sup> There exist minute descriptions of the ancient Mexicans indicating by their dress, their weapons and their ornaments the different grades of rank to which a distinguished warrior might attain.<sup>7)</sup> Among the nations of North-East Africa a well-appointed war equipment was the appropriate reward of warlike achievements.<sup>8)</sup>

Weapons are among certain peoples regarded as badges which may only be worn by the brave. Thus, for instance, it is a rule that a Dyak youth cannot wear a sword till he has been on one or more head-hunting expeditions. A *mandau*, or sword, is early presented to him, „but not till he has washed it in the blood of an enemy can he presume to carry it as a part of his everyday equipment.“<sup>9)</sup> Among the Yncas men

<sup>1)</sup> Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 298.

<sup>2)</sup> Rosenberg, *Der Malayische Archipel*, p. 166.

<sup>3)</sup> Duncan, *Travels in Western Africa*, p. 261

<sup>4)</sup> Butler, *Travels and Adventures in Assam*, p. 148.

<sup>5)</sup> Dorsey, 'Omaha Sociology', in *Smithsonian Reports*, iii. 329.

<sup>6)</sup> Pfeiffer, *A Lady's Second Journey round the World*, i. 386.

<sup>7)</sup> Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, lib. vi. cap. xxvi. Clavigero, *Historia Antigua de Mexico*, i. 330. Herrera, *Description de las Indias Occidentales*, dec. iii. lib. iv. cap. 7. Bancroft, *Works*, ii. 401

<sup>8)</sup> Harris, *op. cit.*, i. 151. Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, i. 89 (Galla).

<sup>9)</sup> Bock, *Head-Hunters of Borneo*, p. 216.

who had distinguished themselves were in certain cases recompensed with weapons and titles of honour.<sup>1)</sup> Among the Indians of Nicaragua also, weapons were considered as marks of honour, for we learn that the punishment adjudged to a coward was to be disarmed and turned out of the army.<sup>2)</sup>

The feather ornaments with which savages of many different nationalities decorate themselves are in numerous cases the tokens of accomplished deeds. In point of fact it is a very general mode of indicating eminence in war and hunting.<sup>3)</sup> Such a custom especially characterised the American Indians, but it is also found among tribes in other parts of the world. „Feathers of honour“ have been used for instance among the Iroquois,<sup>4)</sup> the Omahas,<sup>5)</sup> the ancient Mexicans<sup>6)</sup> and the Indians of Chile.<sup>7)</sup> With the Dacotahs the number of eagle's feathers worn denote the number of enemies or grizzly bears killed. No one will wear an eagle's feather unless entitled to it, as they believe it will fly away from their heads if worn unlawfully.<sup>8)</sup> As many acts of valour as a man of the Mandans has performed, so many eagle's feathers he may wear in his hair.<sup>9)</sup> The Payaguas „portent sur la tête des aigrettes de plumes; et ceux qui ont tué quelque ennemi les placent verticalement sur le chignon.“<sup>10)</sup> A Somali may stick an ostrich feather in his hair as a token of distinction for each enemy killed by him, and the killing of an elephant is honoured in a similar way.<sup>11)</sup> Warriors of the Igbos on the Lower Niger

1) Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, lib. vi. cap. xviii.

2) Herrera, *Description de las Indias Occidentales*, dec. iii. lib. iv. cap. 7.

3) Dr. Hirn thinks that the feather crowns of the chiefs are only a later development of proudly arranged spoils of the chase, by which a successful hunter proclaims his achievements. — *Origins of Art*, pp. 221 sq.

4) Schoolcraft, *Information respecting the Indian Tribes*, iii. 195.

5) Dorsey, 'Omaha Sociology', in *Smithsonian Reports*, iii. 329.

6) Acosta, *op. cit.*, lib. vi. cap. xxvi.

7) Herrera, *General History of the West-Indies*, vi. 75.

8) Beckwith, 'Customs of the Dacotahs', in *Ann. Rep. of the Board of Regents*, 1885—86, pt. i. 252.

9) Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere von Nord Amerika*, ii. 198.

10) Azara, *Voyages dans l'Amérique Méridionale*, ii. 127.

11) Haggenmacher, 'Reise in Somali-Lande', in *Petermanns Mittheilungen. Ergänzungsheft*, x. 31. Von der Decken, *Reisen in Ost Afrika*, ii. 324.



wear red caps, decorated with white and red feathers, „each feather denoting an enemy slain in actual warfare.“<sup>1)</sup> Among the Kafirs the king presents the most valiant among the chiefs with plumes of feathers. These they wear upon their heads as marks of honour, they are then obeyed as commanders.<sup>2)</sup> If, among the Angahme Nagahs, a man has killed another in battle, he is entitled to wear one feather of a certain bird stuck in his hair and an additional one for every man he subsequently kills; these feathers are also fastened to their shields.<sup>3)</sup> A Noeforeze who has taken the greatest number of heads is the lion of the day among his people, he may wear the greatest number of parrot's feathers as an ornament and mark of honour.<sup>4)</sup> In Doren in New Guinea whoever has cut off the heads of many foes is entitled to wear feathers of the white cockatoo.<sup>5)</sup>

Horns are sometimes worn on the headdress with the same symbolic signification as feathers. Among the Mandans, Sioux, Crows, Blackfeet and Assiniboins as a rule only chiefs of a very great renown wear the headdress surmounted with horns, but sometimes this privilege is also granted to a brave or warrior whose pre-eminent valour, worth, and power is admitted by all the nation.<sup>6)</sup>

By means of his headdress also a warrior may, among many peoples, indicate deeds of valour and renown. Those among the Gallas, for instance, who slay an enemy in battle, or kill a rhinoceros or elephant, are allowed as a mark of distinction to wear the „Gutu“, i. e. plaits of hair made to stand upright on the top of the head.<sup>7)</sup> Formerly in Abyssinia young soldiers were not allowed to dress their hair until they had killed a man, when they shaved the whole of the head, leaving only a single plait; another plait was added for

<sup>1)</sup> Baikie, *Exploring Voyages up the Rivers Kwôra and Binue*, p. 295.

<sup>2)</sup> Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa*, i. 277.

<sup>3)</sup> Butler, *Travels and Adventures in Assam*, p. 148.

<sup>4)</sup> Hasselt, 'Die Noeforezen', in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, viii. 194.

<sup>5)</sup> Finsch, *Neu-Guinea*, p. 99.

<sup>6)</sup> Catlin, *Letters on the North American Indians*, i. 101-104.

<sup>7)</sup> New, *Life in Eastern Africa*, p. 271.



each man killed, till they had reached the number of five, when they were privileged to wear a whole head of hair.<sup>1)</sup> A similar custom is reported from Nicaragua, where an Indian who had conquered an enemy in single combat in the sight of the armies had his head shaved, leaving only on the top a crown of hair as long as from the upper joint of the forefinger to the tip of the same, and in the middle of this crown they left a tuft of longer hair which looked like a tassel.<sup>2)</sup> Panama Indians who have killed an enemy cut off their own hair as a distinguishing mark of triumph,<sup>3)</sup> and the Dakotahs, who generally wear their hair braided, unbraid the hair if they kill an enemy.<sup>4)</sup> Tacitus states that the Catti, from the time they arrived at years of maturity, let their hair and beard grow; they did not divest themselves of this votive badge, „the promise of valour“, till they had slain an enemy.<sup>5)</sup> In ancient Mexico one could judge of the meritorious actions performed by warriors of different ranks from the way in which they dressed their hair.<sup>6)</sup>

Painting is very generally used as the means by which a warrior may distinguish himself with symbols of his achievements. Different colours and designs have a traditional significance which is understood by one and all within the tribe. Thus a young Indian of the Mandans who is the first to kill an enemy upon the war-path paints a spiral line round his arm, of whatever colour he pleases.<sup>7)</sup> And a Galla warrior who has returned victorious to his village is washed by the women with a mixture of fat and milk, after which his face is painted red and white.<sup>8)</sup> — It is worthy of remark that the colours with which warriors on such occasions are painted are most frequently described as red — among brown

<sup>1)</sup> Parkyns, *Abyssinia*, ii. 28.

<sup>2)</sup> Oviedo, *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, lib. xlii. cap. i. Cf. Squier, 'Archæology and Ethnology of Nicaragua', in *Trans. Amer. Ethnol. Soc.* v. iii. pt. i. 127.

<sup>3)</sup> Bancroft, *Works*, i. 764.

<sup>4)</sup> Schoolcraft, *Information respecting the Indian Tribes*, iv. 63.

<sup>5)</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, 31.

<sup>6)</sup> Clavigero, *Historia Antigua de Mexico*, i. 330. Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, lib. vi. cap. xxvi.

<sup>7)</sup> Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere von Nord America*, ii. 197.

<sup>8)</sup> Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, i. 258.

races also black. Evidently the red colour, as is especially the case among the Sioux Indians,<sup>1)</sup> has reference to blood or wounds. „The red colour, so often used in military dress“, says Dr. Hirn, „tends — — to arouse increased vigour by direct psychological as well as associative action. Perhaps also, as some old authors suggest, the use of red may have had a negative importance by concealing the wounds and the blood which else might depress the men and encourage their enemies.“<sup>2)</sup> The Fijians looked upon the mere bloodstain, however acquired, as a mark of honourable distinction.<sup>3)</sup> If a Dacotah takes the scalp of a slain enemy, a broad red streak is painted across the eagle-feathers which denote his deed; if the enemy is shot, a round red spot is painted upon it; if the person killed was of prominence or reputation, the feathers are dyed red.<sup>4)</sup> Among the same people the yellow squares in the pattern of their moccasins imply that some horses of that colour have been captured. If in the yellow squares there are small spots of red, these signify that some of the horses were wounded by their pursuing owners.<sup>5)</sup> An Omaha warrior who disembowelled a fallen enemy with a knife was among other privileges permitted to redden his knife and dance as a grizzly bear, and similarly a man who struck down a foe with a hatchet, bow, etc., was allowed to redden the weapon and carry it to the dance if he so wished.<sup>6)</sup> — The black colour used in warlike painting seems generally to indicate enemies killed.<sup>7)</sup> It is to be associated with the notion, prevalent among many peoples, that a man who kills another is under certain circumstances unclean, however praiseworthy the action itself may be reckoned. Hunters also who have killed some big game are in certain cases

<sup>1)</sup> Wissler, 'Decorative Art of the Sioux Indians', in *Bull. of the Amer. Museum of Natural History*, xviii. pt. iii. 270.

<sup>2)</sup> Hirn, *Origins of Art*, pp. 270 sqq.

<sup>3)</sup> Fison, *Tales from Old Fiji*, xxi. sqq.

<sup>4)</sup> Beckwith, 'Customs of the Dacotahs', in *Ann. Rep. of the Board of Regents*, 1885—86, pt. i. 252.

<sup>5)</sup> Wissler, *loc. cit.*, xviii. pt. iii. 261.

<sup>6)</sup> Dorsey, 'Omaha Sociology', in *Smithsonian Reports*, iii. 329.

<sup>7)</sup> Cf. Wissler, *loc. cit.*, xviii. pt. iii. 270.



unclean for a space of time.<sup>1)</sup> — Dr. Frazer has paid attention to the rules of conduct which are often imposed on warriors in savage tribes after a victory. He thinks that the motive for such restrictions laid on the victors is a dread of the angry spirits of the slain. The general effect of the taboos is to seclude or isolate the tabooed persons from ordinary society. They are temporarily cut off from free intercourse with their fellows and especially from their wives, and must undergo certain rites of purification before they are readmitted to society.<sup>2)</sup> Professor Westermarck similarly points out the common idea that the shedder of human blood — whether an ordinary murderer or the slayer of a foe — is unclean. „The ghost of the victim persecutes him, or actually cleaves to him like a miasma; and he must undergo rites of purification to get rid of the infection. Until this is done, he is among many peoples regarded as a source of danger, and is consequently cut off from free intercourse with his fellows.<sup>3)</sup> — The Sioux Indians afford an example illustrating the idea of the uncleanness of manslayers. The great respect which on the occasion of the scalp dance these Indians pay to the holders of scalps, the compassionate and mournful song which they howl to the manes of their unfortunate victims as well as the precise care and solemnity with which they afterwards bury the scalps, sufficiently convince the eye-witness that they have a superstitious dread of the spirits of their slain enemies and many conciliatory offices to perform to insure their own peace.<sup>4)</sup> Among the natives of Washington's Islands even the heroic deed of killing one of the highest of the enemy, is tabooed for ten days.<sup>5)</sup> A Galla who has killed an enemy in war has to make an expiatory sacrifice to the manes of the slain man.<sup>6)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> Cf. Lisiansky, *Voyage round the World*, p. 209 (Whalers among the Kadiack Islanders). Alberti, *Kaffern*, p. 123 (Lion hunters among the Kafirs).

<sup>2)</sup> Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, i. 340-43.

<sup>3)</sup> Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i. 375 sqq. — Tylor also gives examples of purification ceremonies on occasions of contamination by bloodshed or funeral. — *Primitive Culture*, ii. 433 sq.

<sup>4)</sup> Donaldson, 'The George Catlin Indian Gallery', in *Ann. Rep. of the Board of Regents*, 1884—85, pt. i. 309.

<sup>5)</sup> Langsdorff, *Voyages in Various Parts of the World*, i. 133.

<sup>6)</sup> Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, ii. 136.



In regard to the Lillooet Indians we read that when a man had killed an enemy, he painted his whole face black. It was believed that if he did not do so, he would become blind.<sup>1)</sup> After a similar deed the Dacotahs unbraid their hair and blacken themselves all over. „They dress like mourners, yet rejoice.“<sup>2)</sup> An Omaha who is the first to seize an enemy is allowed to blacken his body, and then mark spots here and there with white clay. And the second who performed the same deed blackened his body from the waist to the shoulders and rubbed white clay along the tops of the latter. Those who disembowelled fallen enemies blackened their bodies in a certain way.<sup>3)</sup> The Panama Indians, after killing an enemy, painted themselves black, continuing so painted until the first new moon.<sup>4)</sup> Painting their faces black for two or three days is also practised by young Fijian warriors, who have earned their first distinction by killing an enemy.<sup>5)</sup>

Finally we have to notice the custom of making incisions or tattoo marks in the skin as testimonies to the bearers' heroism. Originally incisions or cuts were evidently made so as to resemble real wounds, which all the world over were considered as honourable adornments for a man. The same opinion has been expressed by Dr. Hirn.<sup>6)</sup> Artificial decorations of this kind are reported from many peoples. Thus among the ancient Tupinambas the slaying of an enemy gave a warrior the right to make with a sharp tooth a deep incision in his skin, which he filled up with colour.<sup>7)</sup> If a man of the Karamojo in Uganda kills another in battle, he is decorated by having his right shoulder scarified.<sup>8)</sup> Warriors of the Bachapins in South Africa who have killed a man are

1) Teit, 'The Lillooet Indians', in *The Jesup Expedition*, vol. ii. pt. v. 235.

2) Schoolcraft, *Information respecting the Indian Tribes*, iv. 63.

3) Dorsey, 'Omaha Sociology', in *Smithsonian Reports*, iii. 329.

4) Bancroft, *Works*, i. 764.

5) Fison, *Tales from Old Fiji*, xxi. sq.

6) Hirn, *The Origins of Art*, p. 222.

7) Von Martius, *Von dem Rechtszustande unter den Ureinwohnern Brasiliens*, p. 49.

8) Cunningham, *Uganda and its Peoples*, p. 345.

allowed to mark their thigh with a long scar, which is rendered indelible and of a bluish colour by means of wood ashes rubbed into the fresh wound.<sup>1)</sup> Among the Bechuanas proper, when they celebrate a victory, the priest makes a long cut with an assagai in the skin of each warrior who has killed an adversary, which for the remainder of his life is a visible token of his heroism.<sup>2)</sup> For every wild animal that a young Damara destroys, his father makes four small oblong incisions on the front of the son's body as marks of honour and distinction.<sup>3)</sup>

Tattooing, as is well known, is a custom very generally diffused among various peoples. It has probably had its rise from many different sources and is practised for the most varying purposes, which we cannot here consider. What in this connection interests us is the fact that tattooing often constitutes a reward for martial prowess, and in such cases it seems, like scars and incisions, to have frequently represented real wounds. In fact there is no definite distinction between scars and tattooing. Numerous examples demonstrate how successful warriors ornament themselves with tattooed emblems, more especially when they have taken life. Tattooing is applied by different peoples to the most dissimilar parts of the body, now on the forehead, now on the chest, the shoulders, the arms or the back of the hands and fingers; it exhibits also the greatest variation in regard to pattern.<sup>4)</sup>

Besides the marks of distinction above-named, others of varying kinds are found among many peoples. The olive wreaths which among the ancient Greeks were given as prizes.

<sup>1)</sup> Burchell, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, ii. 535.

<sup>2)</sup> Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa*, ii. 330 sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Anderson, *Lake Nagami*, p. 224.

<sup>4)</sup> Dalton, 'Ethnologie Bengalens', in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, v. 204. Hopley, 'Anthropological Studies in Kavirondo and Nandi', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxxiii. 353. Hose, 'Natives of Borneo', *ib.*, xxiii. 167. Haddon, *Head-Hunters*, p. 306 (Kayans of Borneo); *id.*, *Decorative Art in British New Guinea*, pp. 172, 176; *id.*, *Evolution in Art*, p. 45, note (British New Guineans). Lawes, 'Ethnological Notes on the Motu', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* viii. 370. Chalmers, 'Natives of the Kiwai Island', *ib.*, xxxiii. 123. Quatrefages, *Les Polynesiens*, p. 38 (New Zealanders).



to the victors in the Olympian games were a badge of glory of great social significance, as is evident from the ovation accorded to the victor, partly in Olympia, partly in his native land.<sup>1)</sup> In Central Celebes the head of a „Rhinoceros bird“, fastened upon the sheath of the sword was a mark of distinction for famous head-hunters.<sup>2)</sup> Among the Dyaks of Borneo a head-hunter was entitled to decorate the upper part of his ears with a pair of the canine teeth of the leopard.<sup>3)</sup> The bravest of the Indians of Chile are said to have bored their lips.<sup>4)</sup> Among the Tapuyas of Brazil to wear long nails was a privilege of royalty and the relations of royalty as well as of those who had signalized themselves in war.<sup>5)</sup> — Valiant warriors are honoured also after death and the memory of their achievements is often perpetuated by means of inscriptions upon their graves or in some other way.<sup>6)</sup> In the Ethnographical collection of the British Museum is preserved the skull of a Blood Indian painted red as a mark of honour to the deceased. According to a general belief among several peoples besides the ancient Teutons and the Mahometans, who are best known in this respect, their sensual pleasures in the future state are in proportion to individual merit; thus the bravest warriors and those slain in battle will be the happiest and most distinguished.<sup>7)</sup> The Aztecs believed that a soldier who fell in battle was transported at once to the region of ineffable bliss in the bright mansions of the Sun.<sup>8)</sup>

✓By means of their badges of merit and the marks upon their bodies savages understand in many cases to characterize

1) Holm, *The History of Greece*, i. 238 sq. Richter, *Spiele der Griechen und Römer*, pp. 142-147.

2) Sarasin, *Reisen in Celebes*, i. 269.

3) Bock, *Head-Hunters of Borneo*, p. 187.

4) Herrera, *General History of the West Indies*, vi. 75.

5) Southey, *History of Brazil*, i. 379.

6) Cf. Heuglin, *Reise in das Gebiet des Weissen Nil*, p. 196. Rohlfs, *Quer durch Afrika*, ii. 199 sq. Grey, *China*, i. 347.

7) Hunters, *Memoirs of a Captivity among the Indians*, p. 215. Clavigero, *Historia Antigua de Megico*, i. 329.

8) Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, p. 21.



very precisely the deeds to which they have reference. The Sioux Indians, for instance, by means of the decoration on their moccasins are able particularly to announce that horses have been captured or enemies slain or that the wearer has been wounded, etc.<sup>1)</sup> Among the same tribe the wing feathers of the bald-headed eagle worn by the warriors denote the slaughter of male enemies and the black-eagle feathers denote the slaughter of females. If the enemy was scalped, a broad streak is painted across the feathers, if shot, a round red spot is painted upon it, if the person killed was of prominence, the feathers are dyed red.<sup>2)</sup> The Karamojo in Uganda also by their tattoo marks denote the distinction of a man or a woman being killed in war; if a man was the victim the conqueror is decorated by having his right shoulder scarified, if it was a woman, then his left shoulder is marked.<sup>3)</sup> Very generally the number of heads taken or other meritorious actions performed are recorded through corresponding symbols.<sup>4)</sup>

As trophies confer distinction upon the bearer, so the same is naturally the case as regards badges and marks of honour. Since these can only be borne by those who are privileged on account of their achievements, they may be regarded as a recognition on the part of the community of the merits of a skilled hunter or warrior. They constitute the direct reward for valiant deeds performed and it is therefore natural that they should lead to influence. A man

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<sup>1)</sup> Wissler, 'Decorative Art of the Sioux Indians', in *Bull. of the Amer. Museum of Natural History*, xviii. 261—263.

<sup>2)</sup> Beckwith, 'Customs of the Dacotahs', in *Ann. Rep. of the Board of Regents*, 1885—86, pt. i. 252.

<sup>3)</sup> Cunningham, *Uganda and its Peoples*, p. 345.

<sup>4)</sup> Joaq. Acosta, *Compendio Historico de la Nueva Granada*, p. 219 (Chibchas). Nadaillac, *Pre-Historic America*, pp. 279 sq. (Ancient Chichimenees). Clavigero, *Historia Antigua de Mexico*, i. 330; Bancroft, *Works*, ii. 401 (Aztecs). Beckwith, *loc. cit.*, p. 252 (Dacotahs). Duncan, *West Africa*, p. 261 (Dahomeans). Baikie, *Exploring Voyage up the Rivers Kwora and Binue*, p. 295 (Igbos). Harris, *Highlands of Aethiopia*, i. 151; ii. 208 (Danakáli, Amhára). Parkyns, *Abyssinia*, ii. 28. Butler, *Travels and Adventures in Assam*, ii. 148 (Angahmee Nagahs). Studer, 'Timor', in *Deutsche Geografische Blätter*, Jahrg. ii. 240. Pryer, 'Natives of British Borneo', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xvi. 233 sq.

who is in possession of numerous badges is one „whose voice is loud in council.“ We see also how such tokens of glory are respected in all parts of the world. Among the Moto of New Guinea, who tattooed their braves as a decoration of honour, raids were sometimes made on small villages along the coast for the purpose simply of killing some of the inhabitants in order that the young men might come back and be tattooed. It was no uncommon thing to hear men quarelling, and one saying to another: „Who are you that you should talk? Where are your tattoo marks? Who have you killed that you should speak to me?“<sup>1)</sup> In Atiu Island certain symbols, which were worn only by warriors of great reputation, „conferred upon the wearer certain rights over any woman he might meet, so long as he wore the symbol.“<sup>2)</sup> Mr. Fison describes in the following terms how young Fijians who have killed their first an and accordingly are allowed to besmear their faces with black, are received in their native town: „The young fellow, thus decorated, strutted proudly through the town, an object of envy to his comrades, and of tender interest to the girls of his tribe. The old men shouted approval after him, the women would 'lulilu', admiringly as he passed by, and the boys looked up to him as a superior being, and longed for the time when they might emulate his deeds. This decoration might be called the Fijian Victoria Cross.“<sup>3)</sup>

Closely related to badges of merit are the honorary names which many peoples confer upon their braves after the performance of some gallant deed.<sup>4)</sup> In certain cases a title of honour is given to a man in addition to the name by which he was previously known. This was the custom in Tahiti where, according to Ellis, there were a number of men celebrated for their prowess in war who were called *aito*, fighting-men or warriors. „This title, the result of achievements in battle, was highly respected, and proportionately sought after

<sup>1)</sup> Lawes, 'Ethnological Notes on the Motu', *ib.*, viii. 370.

<sup>2)</sup> Gudgeon, 'Phallic Emblem from Atiu Island', in *Jour. Polyn. Soc.* xiii. nr iv. 210.

<sup>3)</sup> Fison, *Tales from Old Fiji*, xxii.

<sup>4)</sup> Cf. Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, ii, 1, pp. 156—160.



by the daring and ambitious.“<sup>1)</sup> In Fiji there were four titles of honour given to the shedders of blood. *Koroi* was a man who had taken one life, *Koli* the slayer of ten, *Visa* the slayer of twenty and *Wungka* the slayer of thirty.<sup>2)</sup> Titles of honour are reported also from the Malays of Sumatra<sup>3)</sup> and the Masai.<sup>4)</sup> In the tribes of Victoria „the feat of having killed two or three emus in early life attaches to the individual a characteristic name.“<sup>5)</sup> The Tupinambas in Brazil had the custom of assuming as many names as they had killed enemies: „Ceux qui en portent un grand nombre sont regardés comme les principaux de la nation.“<sup>6)</sup> Those of the Indians of Nicaragua who acquitted themselves well in battle, or who had triumphed in a hand-to-hand conflict with an enemy, took the title of *Tapaliqui*.<sup>7)</sup> Among the Wyandot Indians „no person may change his name, but everyone — — may win a second name commemorative of deed or circumstance, which is a kind of title.“<sup>8)</sup> Young men of the Creeks were considered to be in a kind of disgrace until they had performed some warlike exploit that procured them a war-name.<sup>9)</sup> The Yncas gave titles of honour to those who had done good service in war.<sup>10)</sup>

Among other tribes a new name is given to a man on the occasion of any great achievement in place of his previous name. Thus among the Shoshones the young warrior is impatient to change the name of his childhood by some exploit of his own. Any important action, the stealing

<sup>1)</sup> Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, i. 296.

<sup>2)</sup> Fison, *op. cit.*, xxi.

<sup>3)</sup> Müller, *Bijdragen tot de Kennis van Sumatra*, pp. 136 sq.

<sup>4)</sup> Hollis, *The Masai*, pp. 298 sq.

<sup>5)</sup> Stanbridge, 'Tribes in the Central Part of Victoria', in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, N. S. i. 292.

<sup>6)</sup> Staden, *Véritable Histoire et Description d'Amérique*, p. 281. Cf. von Martius, *Von dem Rechtszustande unter den Ureinwohnern Brasiliens*, p. 49.

<sup>7)</sup> Squier, 'Archæology and Ethnology of Nicaragua', in *Trans. Amer. Ethnol. Soc.* iii. pt. i. 127.

<sup>8)</sup> Powell, 'Wyandot Government', in *Smithsonian Reports*, i. 64.

<sup>9)</sup> Schoolcraft, *Information respecting the Indian Tribes*, v. 280.

<sup>10)</sup> Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, lib. vi. cap. xviii.



of horses, the scalping of an enemy, or the killing of a brown bear, entitles him at once to a new name, which he then selects for himself and which is confirmed by the nation. Sometimes, however, the two names subsist together.<sup>1)</sup> Natchez warriors change their names as often as they perform new exploits, and the new names have always some relation to the action by which they have merited this distinction.<sup>2)</sup> Other Indian tribes follow a similar custom.<sup>3)</sup>

Names are in many cases regarded as closely connected with personality. Just as the young men, as we have seen in the foregoing chapter, on their initiation take a new name in order to exchange the state of childhood for that of manhood, so the name is changed for a similar reason when a young man performs his first exploit, and both of these events sometimes coincide as regards time. The youthful hero divests himself of his former nature and becomes now a man and a warrior.<sup>4)</sup> „The savage“, Dr. Frazer says, „commonly fancies that the link between a name and the person or thing denominated by it is not a mere arbitrary and ideal association, but a real and substantial bond which unites the two.“<sup>5)</sup> A similar change of personality is indicated when a man who kills an illustrious enemy assumes that enemy's name. In this custom is presented an example of faith in the transmission of properties. The opinion of Mr. Crawley is evidently well founded, viz., that a warrior who has slain a foe takes his name in order to „add to his own personality the properties of the owner, and sometimes to avoid reprisals by so doing.“<sup>6)</sup> This custom of assuming the names of slain enemies has been reported from many peoples. Among the Guaranies, for instance, who generally kill their prisoners of

1) Lewis and Clarke, *Travels to the Source of the Missouri River*, p. 316.

2) Charlevoix, *Voyage to North-America*, ii. 202 sq.

3) Hunter, *Memoirs of a Captivity among the Indians*, pp. 249 sq.

4) The Todas sometimes change their names in illness or other misfortune. When a man is ill, change of name is sometimes recommended by a diviner, but this is not often done. — Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 626.

5) Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, i. 403 sq.

6) Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, p. 271.

war, he who strikes the first blow at one of these butcheries, takes from that time the name of the victim.<sup>1)</sup> From Fiji we learn: If a man of distinguished rank has been killed in a battle, the slayer is allowed to take his name, or he is honoured by being styled the comb, the dog, the canoe, or the fort of some great living chief.<sup>2)</sup> In the Marshall Islands, also, a man assumes the name of a foe killed by him in war.<sup>3)</sup> — Among the Galla it was customary for warriors to take the name of a victorious hero or that of his chief.<sup>4)</sup>

The importance of names of honour and titles may be likened to the importance of trophies and marks of honour. ✓ Those who have acquired for themselves titles of honour raise themselves above the rest of the community and can more easily make their opinion carry weight. Among the Malay tribes of Sumatra, for instance, the braves who have acquired certain titles of honour occupy a leading position above their countrymen and are given preference in various respects.<sup>5)</sup>

✓ We see how persons who are distinguished by their eminent qualities not only secure for themselves authority and influence, but also in many cases actual benefits and privileges. ✓ The brave call forth admiration and recognition, they have a voice in the council and make themselves powerful to a certain extent even beyond the circle of their own followers. Although, for instance, one often sees that the Indians in time of war exert themselves to the utmost to kill the bravest and hardiest of their opponents in order to free themselves from their most dangerous enemies, it not seldom happens that they will spare such an enemy on account of his heroism, or for some similar reason, when he has fallen into their hands. Instances of this kind are reported from the Blackfeet<sup>6)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> Southey, *History of Brazil*, i. 117.

<sup>2)</sup> Williams, *Fiji*, pp. 43 sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Hager, *Marshall-Inseln*, p. 66.

<sup>4)</sup> Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, i. 258.

<sup>5)</sup> Müller, *Bijdragen tot de Kennis van Sumatra*, pp. 136 sq.

<sup>6)</sup> Grinnell, *The Story of the Indian*, p. 123 (Blackfeet).



and the Iroquois.<sup>1)</sup> The latter as well as the Wyandot sometimes caused their prisoners of war to run the gauntlet as a test whether they should be killed or adopted into the tribe. Those who behaved manfully were from that moment treated with affection and kindness, but those who fell from exhaustion were put to death.<sup>2)</sup> Among the Maoris it has sometimes happened that enemies taken in battle have been invested with the dignity of chieftainship, though virtually slaves to their conquerors. „This has arisen“, Mr. Polack says, „from the valourous temper of the captured, who is accordingly enrolled in the tribe, some women of rank are given him in marriage, together with lands, slaves, dresses and canoes as dowries.“<sup>3)</sup> — There is reason to believe that one cause of redoubtable warriors being spared from otherwise imminent death may be found in a superstitious dread of the consequences of killing them. — Among the native tribes of Guatemala certain criminals were punished with slavery unless they so distinguished themselves by warlike deeds that they were set at liberty.<sup>4)</sup>

✓The perhaps most usual proof that a man secures advantages in the community through his personal exploits is that such a man finds it easier than do others to obtain a wife. There are numerous examples showing that a man who distinguishes himself by his prowess as a hunter or warrior is likely to find favour in the sight of the opposite sex. He generally has no difficulty in finding a bride, while, on the other hand, inferior hunters and warriors must submit to remain single. It is a very general rule that a young man cannot marry until he has come to be an expert hunter, so as to be able to support a wife, or a brave warrior who can undertake to protect her. This gives him standing with

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<sup>1)</sup> Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, p. 431. Bancroft, *Works*, i. 433. Featherman, *Social History of Mankind*, iii. 206.

<sup>2)</sup> Morgan, *op. cit.*, pp. 342 sq. Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, iii. 156. Powell, 'Wyandot Government', in *Smithsonian Reports*, i. 68.

<sup>3)</sup> Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, i. 35.

<sup>4)</sup> Stoll, 'Ethnologie der Indianerstämme von Guatemala', in *Intern. Archiv für Ethnologie*, Suppl. zu Band i. 19.



the parents, who would naturally be more willing to give their daughter to a good provider and supporter, and it ingratiates him also with the maiden of his choice, who regards him with great pride and admiration.<sup>1)</sup> In many tribes a young man cannot marry till he has given a proof of his abilities and merit by destroying a dangerous beast of prey or by presenting the object of his affection or her parents with some game of his own killing, from the quantity of which his qualifications as a hunter may be estimated.<sup>2)</sup> The proof may also consist in presenting the maiden with a head taken by the suitor, and in countries from which this custom is reported, such a present is often said to be the best recommendation of a lover and the most acceptable offering he can make to his fair one.<sup>3)</sup> — In certain cases some superstitious ideas seem to be connected with these conditions for the marriage of a young man, for it is said for instance of the Koyúkun Indians in Yukon, that a youth „must not marry

<sup>1)</sup> Cf. Cranz, *History of Greenland*, i. 163. Richardson, *Arctic Searching Expedition*, i. 383 (The Kutchin tribe). Grinnell, *The Story of the Indian*, pp. 42 sq.; *id.*, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 211 (Blackfeet). Hunter, *Memoirs of a captivity among the Indians*, p. 232 (Indians Westward of the Mississippi). Appun, 'Indianer' in Britisch Guyana', in *Ausland*, 44 Jahrg. (1871). Schomburgk, *Reisen in Britisch-Guiana*, ii. 317. Southey, *History of Brazil*, i. 240; Alcedo, *Dictionary of America and the West Indies*, i. 197 (Natives of Brazil). Dalton, 'Ethnologie Bengalens', in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, v. 204 (Nagahs). Macree, 'Account of the Kookies', in *Asiatick Researches*, vii. 193. Ling Roth, *Natives of Borneo*, ii. 163—166. Bock, *Head-Hunters of Borneo*, p. 216. Hose, 'Natives of Borneo', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxiii. 167. Haddon, 'Western Tribe of Torres Straits', *ib.*, xix. 394 sq.; *id.*, *Head-Hunters*, pp. 107 sq. Chalmers, 'Natives of the Kiwai Island', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxxiii. 123. — Among the Tchukches a girl is said not to be able to marry before she has shown her dexterity in stealing from neighbouring tribes. — Крашенениковъ, *Камчатка*, ii. 162.

<sup>2)</sup> Schoolcraft, *Information respecting the Indian Tribes*, v. 269, 272 (Creeks). Hunter, *Memoirs of a Captivity among the Indians*, pp. 236 sq. (Indians West of the Mississippi). D'Orbigny, *L'Homme Américain*, ii. 166; Southey, *History of Brazil*, i. 334 (Chiquitos). Arbousset and Daumas, *Cape of Good Hope*, 249 (Bushmen).

<sup>3)</sup> Rosenberg, *Der Malayische Archipel*, p. 316 (Natives of West Seram). Zimmermann, *Inseln des Indischen und Stillen Meeres*, i. 166 sq.; Pfeiffer, *A Lady's Second Journey round the World*, i. 384 (People of Ceram).

until he has killed a deer, as otherwise he will have no children.“<sup>1)</sup>

✓ Skill and strength are all the more obligatory conditions for marriage as among many peoples the young men have to undergo a special trial before their wooing is accepted.<sup>2)</sup> This is the case, for instance, with some aboriginal tribes on the Amazon, who cause their marriageable young men to shoot with the bow and arrows, and if they do not show themselves good marksmen, the girls refuse them, on the ground that they will not be able to shoot fish and game enough for the family.<sup>3)</sup> Before a man of the Macushi in British Guiana may marry he must cut down a tree in a very short space of time and similarly clear a certain piece of ground.<sup>4)</sup> Among the Ahts a man must lift and carry a large stone, in the presence of the people, before he may woo the chief's daughter,<sup>5)</sup> and among the Chavantes, if several suitors appear for the same girl, he who shows the greatest strength in carrying or throwing a heavy piece of wood wins the bride.<sup>6)</sup> Formerly, among the Eskimo about Bering Strait, when the husband and a lover quarrelled about a woman, they were disarmed by the neighbours and then settled the matter with their fists or by wrestling, the victor in the struggle taking the woman.<sup>7)</sup> — Similar customs also show how marriage in many cases constitutes a reward or privilege obtainable through the exhibition of superior personal qualities.

✓ Moreover, among many peoples, hunters and fishermen who by reason of their expertness are able to support a plurality of wives enjoy the privilege of polygamy. Thus among the Kutchins „a good hunter, who can accumulate

<sup>1)</sup> Dall, *Alaska*, p. 196.

<sup>2)</sup> Lord Avebury quotes several examples. — *The Origin of Civilization*, p. 106.

<sup>3)</sup> Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon*, p. 498.

<sup>4)</sup> Appun, 'Indianer in Britisch Guayana', in *Ausland*, xliv. 446.

<sup>5)</sup> Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, p. 99.

<sup>6)</sup> Von Martius, *Von dem Rechtszustande unter den Ureinwohnern Brasiliens*, pp. 58 sq.

<sup>7)</sup> Nelson, 'The Eskimo about Bering Strait', in *Smithsonian Reports*, xviii. 292.



beads, and a good wrestler, who can win brides by force, may have from two to five wives.<sup>1)</sup> Among the Aleuts the best hunter or fisherman has the greatest number of wives,<sup>2)</sup> and among the Illinois Indians a man may have two wives if he be a good hunter.<sup>3)</sup> Every young Bororó who wishes to marry must have killed either five peccaries or one jaguar, thus giving proof that he can support a family. If he kills five jaguars he has the right to have two wives, although this privilege seems rarely to be used.<sup>4)</sup> In Yeso a successful Aino hunter or fisher sometimes keeps two wives. If a woman finds her husband a poor Nimrod she abandons him.<sup>5)</sup> Among certain Australian tribes the man who is most skilful is considered to be entitled to more wives than any of the others.<sup>6)</sup>

The foregoing examples have shown how men who distinguish themselves by eminent qualities, especially as hunters and warriors, enjoy the privilege of marrying, or at least that they can more easily than others provide themselves with a wife, or even with more than one. ✓ But other advantages may also accrue to those who are renowned by reason of personal attributes of a high order. ✓ Private ownership of land is explained as in certain cases originating in the strongest and most influential men taking by their own authority for themselves and their adherents ground that was previously common property. Thus among the Ahts there is no strict notion of individual property in land, although in several instances claims to portions of the same have been put forward by individuals. A noted hunter, for instance, in a small tribe where there are few to question his right, will sometimes regard the country along one side of a stream as his own special hunting-ground; or the land will be claimed by the head of a powerful family who will allow none but his own

<sup>1)</sup> Bancroft, *Works*, i. 131.

<sup>2)</sup> Coxe, *Russian Discoveries between Asia and America*, p. 183. Dall, *Alaska*, p. 388.

<sup>3)</sup> Bossu, *Voyages aux Indes Occidentales*, i. 147.

<sup>4)</sup> Fric and Radin, 'The Bororó Indians', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxxvi. 390.

<sup>5)</sup> St. John, 'The Ainos', *ib.*, ii. 254.

<sup>6)</sup> Morgan, *Life of Buckley*, pp. 65 sq.



friends to hunt over it.<sup>1)</sup> — A few more examples of advantages obtained through personal qualities may be given. Among the Tencteri, who were a Teutonic tribe of excellent horsemen, horses were not, like other things, inherited by the eldest son, but by the bravest and most warlike.<sup>2)</sup> The winner at the Olympic games in ancient Greece was generally, as is well known, for the remainder of his life a privileged person in his native town.<sup>3)</sup> Among the Indians of Panama „nobility is conferred on him who is wounded in war, and he is further rewarded with lands, with some distinguished women, and with military command; he is deemed more illustrious than others.“<sup>4)</sup> Throughout the world we see that kings and chieftains reward their followers in a similar manner when these have displayed bravery in battle or have otherwise distinguished themselves. This constitutes a feature which stands in connection with the history of nobility.

✓In the same way that the possession of eminent qualities is calculated to raise a man above his surroundings, so qualities of a contemptible nature sink another to an inferior station. ✓Here also we see an example of social inequality as a result of personal conditions. ✓Every elevation of an individual pre-supposes that others become subordinate to him, but despicable qualities may also work directly degradingly. We notice that sinking in social position through personal qualities comes to pass in a manner analogous to elevation in the same. Thus we find that ignominious names or terms are given to those who are considered to have deserved them. For instance, those among the Creeks who have not distinguished themselves in war and consequently have no name of honour are styled *old women*, which is the greatest term of reproach that can be used to them. Another term, *Esté dogo*, i. e. *you are nobody*, is also a very offensive expression, in

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<sup>1)</sup> Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, pp. 79 sq.

<sup>2)</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, 32.

<sup>3)</sup> Holm, *The History of Greece*, i. 238 sq. Richter, *Spiele der Griechen und Römer*, pp. 142—147.

<sup>4)</sup> Bancroft, *Works*, i. 764.

comparison with which it is a common and harmless reply to say *you are a liar*, but to use either of the other two expressions would at once cause a quarrel.<sup>1)</sup>

More generally outward marks and signs of ignominy seem to be used, and in many cases they originate from punishments inflicted upon offenders. In Nicaragua a thief had his hair cut off, and became a slave to the person that he had robbed.<sup>2)</sup> Among the Lillooet Indians who cut the hair of slaves, the husband of a woman who had committed adultery sometimes cut one side of her hair close to the scalp as a punishment.<sup>3)</sup> The ancient Mexicans used to shave a drunkard if he was of low caste, and this is said to have been a punishment very sensibly felt by them. Among the same people he who told a lie to the special prejudice of another, had a part of his lip cut off, and sometimes his ears.<sup>4)</sup> In Honduras the punishment of a thief was to take away what he had of his own, and if the theft was very great, they cut off his ears and hands.<sup>5)</sup> A Chipcha Indian who showed cowardice in war was dressed in woman's clothes, and had to do woman's work.<sup>6)</sup> — In like manner as the brave are honoured in that they are believed to lead a blissful existence after death, so the dishonour and punishment of the coward is thought to continue also after death. The Fijians imagined that in spirit-land the man whose club had no blood stain on it was condemned to employ himself and the club in pounding a heap of filth *in sacula sæculorum*.<sup>7)</sup>

Like as courage is universally respected, so cowardice is despised among most peoples. This contempt sometimes grows to such a pitch that a man who fails to satisfy the demands of the tribe in respect of courage is treated almost as an outcast. The greatest disgrace that could befall a Teuton was to have abandoned his shield in battle. A person

<sup>1)</sup> Schoolcraft, *Information respecting the Indian Tribes*, v. 280.

<sup>2)</sup> Herrera, *Description de las Indias Occidentales*, dec. iii. lib. iv. cap. 7.

<sup>3)</sup> Teit, 'The Lillooet Indians', in *The Jesup Expedition*, v. ii. pt. v. 221.

<sup>4)</sup> Clavigero, *Historia Antigua de Mexico*, i. 325.

<sup>5)</sup> Herrera, *op. cit.*, dec. iv. lib. viii. cap. 5.

<sup>6)</sup> Simon, *Noticias Historiales*, p. 253.

<sup>7)</sup> Fison, *Tales from Old Fiji*, p. xx.



branded with this ignominy was not permitted to join in their religious rites, or enter their assemblies; so that many after escaping from battle put an end to their infamy by the halter.<sup>1)</sup> When Aristodemos, who saved his life at Thermopylai, returned to Sparta, no one would give him light for a fire or speak with him, and he suffered reproach in that he was called Aristodemos the coward.<sup>2)</sup> Among the Indians of Nicaragua cowards were disarmed and turned out of the army,<sup>3)</sup> and in Nias those who showed pusillanimity several times in succession were with wife and children expelled from the community.<sup>4)</sup> A man of the Tuareg never dared to re-appear among his fellow-tribesmen, if he had deserted them in the fight.<sup>5)</sup> We are told that a Galla, who has not killed any one, is despised by all his acquaintances, and his wife still more so; when she goes to get wood or to draw water, the wife of a man who has killed any one lies in wait for her by the side of her house, and takes her load from her by force, without her daring either to defend herself or even to cry for help; on the contrary, she endeavours to revenge herself on her husband, and he can have no peace in his house till he brings reliable evidence that he has killed a man.<sup>6)</sup> The holiest duty an Australian native is called upon to perform is that of avenging the death of his nearest relation. But if there be any hesitation on his part, he is, so to say, boycotted by all. His wives will have nothing to say to him, the old women rail at him, and the girls will not even bestow a glance upon him.<sup>7)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, 6.

<sup>2)</sup> *The History of Herodotus*, b. vii. ch. 231.

<sup>3)</sup> Herrera, *Description de las Indias Occidentales*, dec. iii. lib. iv. cap. 7. Squier, 'Archæology and Ethnology in Nicaragua', in *Trans. Amer. Ethnol. Soc.* v. iii. pt. i. 127.

<sup>4)</sup> Rosenberg, *Der Malayische Archipel*, p. 166.

<sup>5)</sup> Chavanne, *Sahara*, i. 139.

<sup>6)</sup> Gobat, *Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia*, p. 268.

<sup>7)</sup> Calvert, *The Aborigines of Western Australia*, p. 21. Grey, *Expeditions in N. W. and W. Australia*, ii. 240.



So also incompetent persons and such as are unable to support themselves sink into a despised class. Among the Tuscaroras in North Carolina those who from want of capacity or deficiency of force of character were cowardly and lazy, having no claim to respect and consideration as hunters and warriors, occupied an inferior social position in the community. They were compelled to perform all the hard labour and attend to the common drudgeries of life.<sup>1)</sup> In Greenland a poor wretch that cannot catch seals, is despised to the last degree, and is obliged to subsist on women's diet and sometimes to serve the other men like a handmaid.<sup>2)</sup> Among the Central Eskimo cripples are found in this position.<sup>3)</sup> Among certain tribes of the Malays a mischief-maker or worthless person is sometimes expelled by his family, and if he is not disposed to migrate, there is nothing for him to do but to take service with some one of the chiefs to whom he is related.<sup>4)</sup> — Infraction of the code in regard to an unmarried girl was among the Bakoko in Uganda one of the most heinous crimes known to their law. While the man was fined, the girl had to leave her home, and for ever remained an outcast.<sup>5)</sup> In a similar case a girl among the Kalmouks of the Altai is no longer regarded by her father as his daughter, but is obliged to do all the common work like a servant.<sup>6)</sup>

The precedence which a man wins by his personal exploits and success is extended originally to himself alone. A social inequality which is founded upon personal conditions does not at first continue through several generations. In all communities are found individuals or groups of individuals who by their personal superiority raise themselves above the rest of the population, while others take a lower stand on account of their inferior qualities; but these sections of the population are so varying that they cannot be termed classes. One cannot fail, however, to remark how inequalities like these

<sup>1)</sup> Featherman, *Social History of the Races of Mankind*, iii. 130 sq.

<sup>2)</sup> Cranz, *History of Greenland*, p. 163 and note.

<sup>3)</sup> Boas, 'The Central Eskimo', in *Smithsonian Reports*, vi. 580.

<sup>4)</sup> Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, v. a. 143.

<sup>5)</sup> Cunningham, *Uganda and its Peoples*, pp. 101 sq

<sup>6)</sup> Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, i. 315.

often include a tendency to hereditariness, and thus become more lasting. It is evident that social inequality on the ground of personal conditions has in many cases developed into enduring class inequality. The qualities which elevate an individual above his surroundings may be characteristic of his family also in succeeding generations, and in consequence the position to which such a family attains wins a more lasting acknowledgment on the part of the community. The descendant of a renowned family, even if he himself is not superior to his fellows, has at the outset a certain advantage in the consideration which his family enjoys.

The importance attached by uncivilised peoples to hereditariness as contributing to a man's consequence varies very considerably. In the lowest stage, and in general among peoples with a scarcely developed class system, the consideration paid to hereditariness is generally slight, although it nevertheless frequently occurs to a certain extent. But the more class inequality has developed, so much the greater is the feeling for birth. Concerning the Dyaks we are informed that hereditary rank is very little regarded in comparison with actual superiority. Should a brave warrior have a valiant son, the latter is looked upon with the more respect for the sake of his father's glory, but the unworthy scion of ten renowned generations will be readily ousted in favour of a low-born hero.<sup>1)</sup> In Victoria an aboriginal must as a rule steal or buy a wife, but if he is the offspring of a distinguished man, a girl may have been promised to him.<sup>2)</sup> Among certain Indian tribes like the Dacotah,<sup>3)</sup> the Haidahs<sup>4)</sup> and Northern Columbians<sup>5)</sup> it is customary for the rank of a brave or soldier to descend by inheritance, but this position is greatly dependent on personal qualities. Birth made a distinction among the Abipones, but was not of itself a sufficient quali-

<sup>1)</sup> Boyle, *Adventures among the Dyaks*, p. 285.

<sup>2)</sup> Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i. Introduction, p. xxiv.

<sup>3)</sup> Dorsey, 'Siouan Sociology', in *Smithsonian Reports*, xv. 221 sq.

<sup>4)</sup> Bancroft, *Works*, i. 167.

<sup>5)</sup> Niblack, 'Coast Indians', in *Ann. Rep. of the Board of Regents*, 1887-88, p. 250.



fication to admit a man to the rank of a leader.<sup>1)</sup> Although in principle the members of an Arab tribe are all equal, descent from the family of the Prophet or from certain well-known heroes confers a privileged rank.<sup>2)</sup>

Other tribes again furnish examples of a far more decided hereditariness in regard to the advantages won by a man's forefathers. Among the Panama Indians, as we have seen, nobility is conferred upon those wounded in battle; they are richly rewarded, and the son of such a father, following the profession of arms, may inherit all his honours.<sup>3)</sup> The natives of Central Africa pay great respect to the oldest members of important families „on account of their years, but more from a certain regard for 'family' which the African has very strongly.“<sup>4)</sup> A striking illustration of the pride with which the Hawaiians regard illustrious descent is furnished by Ellis in describing the single combats which were not unusual in the wars of these natives: „There the challenger, when he beheld his antagonist approaching, would exclaim, 'Who are you, that come to contend with me? — I am so and so, who slew such a one, whose name is famous to the farthest of these islands; the son of such a one, who achieved such an action; are you come to add to our fame?' &c., &c. The other would answer, 'I am such a one, the son of so and so, who performed such and such an action, celebrated in every island.'“<sup>5)</sup>

✓ An instance of respect for birth is the fact that among many peoples illegitimate children are not acknowledged as on the same level with others, but occupy a despised position.<sup>6)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Southey, *History of Brazil*, ii. 409. Dobrizhoffer, *Abipones*, ii. 440 sq.

<sup>2)</sup> Maltzan, 'Sittenschilderungen aus Südarabien', in *Globus*, xxi. 103. Friedrichs, 'Eherecht des Islam', in *Zeitschrift für vgl. Rechtswissenschaft*, vii. 244. Blunt, *Tribes of the Euphrates*, ii. 234 sq. D'Escayrac de Lauture, *Le Desert et le Soudan*, pp. 330—332. Daumas, *Moeurs et Coutumes de l'Algérie*, pp. 16, 17, 193. Chavanne, *Sahara*, p. 389.

<sup>3)</sup> Bancroft, *Works*, i. 764.

<sup>4)</sup> Du Chaillu, *Equatorial Africa*, p. 330.

<sup>5)</sup> Ellis, *Hawaii*, pp. 144 sq.

<sup>6)</sup> There are exceptions to this rule as we recognize from some of the examples collected by Prof. Westermarck. — *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, ii. 46, 48 sq.



We perceive in this a circumstance which has contributed to the origin of classes. Concerning the Karok Indians of California we learn: Notwithstanding the vicious system of intercourse among the young, „bastards are universally shunned and despised. They and the children for whose mothers no money was paid — who are illegitimate in fact, according to Karok ideas — constitute a class of social outcasts, Indian Pariahs, who can intermarry only among themselves.“<sup>1)</sup> Among the Hupâ, too, the lot of a bastard is a hard one. He is called „slave“ or „ward“. As soon as the child is old enough it is taken from the mother and becomes the property of some one of her male relatives. Though not condemned to absolute slavery, the bastard has no privileges in the family. All his earnings go to his patron and he can marry only in his own class. He is subject to abuse and contumely.<sup>2)</sup> Among the Mongols, who are by custom allowed to have concubines living together with their legal wives, children by the former are not considered legitimate and do not inherit anything from their father.<sup>3)</sup> Although in Athens, after office was opened to all classes, no difference was made between citizens as regards constitutional law, yet as regards civil law children born out of wedlock stood lower than those who were legitimate.<sup>4)</sup>

✓ A similar regard for birth explains also the difference made by many peoples between „old“ and „new“ families, of which the latter are in most cases socially inferior to the former. The „new“ families are generally such as have settled later and have been received into the community without being given the same privileges as are enjoyed by the original citizens. Among the Algonquis the lowest class were those who did not belong to the tribal community by right of birth, but were either strangers themselves or descendants of aliens. Their condition, in some respects, resembled that

1) Powers, 'Tribes of California', in *Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, iii. 23.

2) *Ib.*, iii. 75 sq.

3) Пржевальский, *Монголия*, i. 48 sq.

4) Schoemann, *Griechische Alterthümer*, i. 375.

of slaves. They could claim no property in the land, and were more or less subject to the orders of the born natives.<sup>1)</sup> In Nicaragua several languages were formerly spoken, the *Chololecan* being the ancient and original, „and therefore“, Herrera says, „those that spoke it held the Estates, and had the Cacao Nuts, which were the Money and Wealth of the Country.“<sup>2)</sup> The Tartars of the Caucasus have an hereditary nobility, entitled Beks, and it is said that the common people have a great veneration for the *old* Bek families, which feeling does not at all extend to the new Beks.<sup>3)</sup> In ancient Athens free people who settled there without enjoying the rights of citizenship were obliged to choose for themselves a Prostates or patron, to whom they probably were under certain obligations of service. Those who had no patron were liable to be sold as slaves. Among the citizens again there was distinction made between the new and the old. The privileges of the former were in the first generation and, at an earlier period in the second generation also, to some extent curtailed.<sup>4)</sup> Similar conditions prevailed in Rome. The foreigner, if he had not made submission to a Roman patron and thus lived as a vassal, was beyond the pale of the law both in person and in property.<sup>5)</sup> Among certain of the Teutons foreigners who had immigrated lost their freedom if they remained longer than a year in the same place,<sup>6)</sup> and mediæval Europe furnishes other similar instances.<sup>7)</sup>

✓ We see thus that the privileges that an individual has acquired by his personal qualities become through the tendency to hereditariness in a greater or less degree confirmed

1) Featherman, *Social History of the Races of Mankind*, iii. 76.

2) Herrera, *General History of the West-Indies*, iii. 299.

3) Haxthausen, *Transcaucasia*, p. 183.

4) Schoemann, *Griechische Alterthümer*, i. 371 sq., 374.

5) Mommsen, *History of Rome*, i. 199.

6) Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, i. 551.

7) Cf. Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, ii. 24.



to his descendants. ✓ Respect for the deeds performed by a man's forefathers is the first step in the direction of hereditary rank, and from this regard for known facts has developed an acknowledgment of the superiority and pre-eminence of certain families. ✓ With the existence of such hereditariness social classes have already come into existence, and that same hereditariness is a factor which more and more tends to separate the different classes from each other. In conjunction with this may be remarked several co-operating agencies, as class endogamy and certain economic, political and religious conditions with which we cannot in this connection occupy ourselves, while treating of the primary causes of social inequality.

## CHAPTER III.

*Wealth as influencing Social Differentiation.*

✓Together with the dissimilarity among individuals the inequality of fortune has conduced to the rise of social differentiation. "As a matter of course the difference as regards property in many cases corresponds with difference in personal qualities. A skilful hunter or fisher, or a victorious warrior, has naturally a better prospect of acquiring a fortune than one who is inferior to him in these respects. ✓But property has nevertheless given to social differentiation a stamp of its own in distinction from that depending on purely personal traits of character, and we have therefore specially to consider its influence upon the formation of classes. ✓First of all we observe that difference in property renders the grouping of classes far more permanent than would be the case under the influence of personal superiority or inferiority alone.

The importance of wealth as contributing to the origin of ranks has self-evidently been commented on in literature. In his *Politics* Aristotle wrote long ago: „Those who have too much of the goods of fortune, strength, wealth, friends and the like, are neither willing nor able to submit to authority. — — On the other hand, the very poor, who are in the opposite extreme, are too degraded. So that one class cannot obey, and can only rule despotically; the other knows not to command and must be ruled like slaves. Thus arises a city, not of freemen, but of masters and slaves, the one despising, the other envying.“<sup>1)</sup> Dr. Grosse says: „While among the lower

<sup>1)</sup> *The Politics of Aristotle*, b. iv. ch. 11. §§ 6—7.



hunting peoples every man has as little property and as many rights as another, among the higher hunting peoples a differentiation of rank and power has been developed, together with inequality of possession.“<sup>1)</sup> Among most peoples there is an evident consciousness that the possession of wealth constitutes a distinction between different sections of the population. This becomes clear for instance from their proverbs.<sup>2)</sup> The Guanches of Teneriffe have the following tradition of the origin of social classes: „At the beginning of the world God created a certain number of men and women, and gave to them the flocks that were necessary for their subsistence. Afterwards he created some others, to whom he gave nothing. When they demanded their share, God said to them, 'Serve the others, and they will give you what you need.' This was the origin of master and servants — in other words of nobles and common people.“<sup>3)</sup>

Just as in the lowest stage of social differentiation we see that eminent personal qualities confer precedence, so we find that wealth is accompanied by respect and influence in the community. Of the almost countless instances of this we will name a few: „There is no superiority of one person over another among the Patagonians“, says Fitzory, „but those who have more property than others, or who are related to the chief, have influence over the rest, although they are not considered to be their superiors.“<sup>4)</sup> Among the classless tribes of West Washington and North West Oregon „wealth gives a certain power — — and influence is purchased by its lavish

<sup>1)</sup> Grosse, *Formen der Familie*. p. 70. — Cf. also Schurtz, *Urgeschichte der Kultur*, p. 148.

<sup>2)</sup> The Badagas of the Neilgherry Hills say: „To a rich man even the wild elephant makes obeisance; but against the poor the little ant lifts a stone“, and again „A poor man has no friends.“ (*Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, pp. 95 sq.) The following is a proverb of a West African nation: „Poor and rich do not go together.“ (Ellis, *Ewe-speaking Peoples*, p. 259).

<sup>3)</sup> Haigh, 'Teneriffe and its Inhabitants', in *Trans. Ethn. Soc. N. S.* vii. 108.

<sup>4)</sup> Fitzory, *Voyages of Adventure and Beagle*, ii. 167.

distribution.“<sup>1)</sup> The Californian and Columbian Indians consider the man of wealth as the one of importance, social position depending upon the possession of riches.<sup>2)</sup> Similar statements have been given of the Eskimos of Alaska<sup>3)</sup>, as also of the Koryaks.<sup>4)</sup> Among the Balantes and Jigouches of West Africa „la force, ou plutôt la richesse, fait la loi, car c'est celui qui a le plus de captifs qui impose sa volonté.“<sup>5)</sup> The family chiefs of the Danakil occupy no privileged position if not distinguished through the possession of rich herds.<sup>6)</sup> Although there is a perfect social equality among the Nicobarese the rich are respected and have some degree of authority.<sup>7)</sup> In New Guinea a man of importance would naturally be in the way of acquiring more wealth than other men, „and this would tend to increase his power and his influence.“<sup>8)</sup> Among the New Caledonians „la reputation d'un homme de noble race est en raison de l'étendue des terrains cultivés qu'il possède, et l'on designe comme grand chef celui qui a beaucoup de morceaux de terre en culture et qui possède de grandes plantations de cocotiers.“<sup>9)</sup>

✓Explorers have remarked that it is not always wealth by itself which brings consideration and authority, but rather liberality and hospitality, but for the development of these qualities on a larger scale wealth is a necessity. ✓Hospitality and generosity are in general highly valued among most

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<sup>1)</sup> Gibbs, 'Tribes of W. Washington and N. W. Oregon', in *Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, i. 185.

<sup>2)</sup> Kroeber, 'Types of Indian Culture in California', in *University of California Publications*, ii. n.r. 3. pp. 87. sq. Bancroft, *Works*, i. 167, 353, 360.

<sup>3)</sup> Petroff, *Population of Alaska*, p. 126.

<sup>4)</sup> Крашененинковъ, *Камчатка*, ii. 161.

<sup>5)</sup> Heequard, *Voyage sur la Côte de l'Afrique Occidentale*, pp. 115, 125.

<sup>6)</sup> Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, i. 241.

<sup>7)</sup> Kloss, *In the Andamans and Nicobars*, p. 242. — Cf. Svoboda, 'Bewohner des Nicobaren-Arkipels', in *Intern. Archiv für Ethnographie*, v. 191.

<sup>8)</sup> Haddon, 'Western Tribe of Torres Straits', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xix. 329. Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, i. 127.

<sup>9)</sup> Brainne, *Nouvelle-Calédonie*, p. 241.



peoples, and he who is always ready to entertain his friends or to bestow gifts upon them easily acquires a very influential position. In the Coast tribes of British Columbia „at all the feasts the chiefs and heads of families give away and destroy a great deal of property; this raises them greatly in the estimation of their own and the people of the other tribes summoned to the feast.“<sup>1)</sup> An Indian of the Mandans may distinguish himself through innumerable acts of valour, but if he does not distribute presents to his tribesmen they will not pay him respect.<sup>2)</sup> Among the Lillooet Indians,<sup>3)</sup> the Omahas<sup>4)</sup> and the Tacullies<sup>5)</sup> the term „chief“ is also applied to men who have gained influence by the bestowal of gifts and the frequent giving of feasts. The Masai have a rank of honour called the *Gaminini*, to be chosen members of which they must frequently slaughter bullocks and give the meat to their comrades.<sup>6)</sup> Burckhardt states that wealth alone does not give a Bedouin any importance among his people. A poor man, if he be hospitable and liberal according to his means, obtains infinitely more consideration and influence among his tribe than an avaricious and wealthy miser, who receives a guest with coldness, and allows his poor friends to starve.<sup>7)</sup>

As special names and badges are conferred upon those who through their personal qualities differ from others, so the case is often the same with such as differ in point of wealth. The Somali, for instance, distinguish persons in different degrees of affluence by different names, through which they are divided into groups of varying consideration. He who attracts notice by his riches or by a corresponding number

<sup>1)</sup> Mayne, *Four Years in British Columbia*, p. 263.

<sup>2)</sup> Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere von Nord Amerika*, ii. 196. — For further examples see Boas, 'Kwakiutl Indians', in *Ann. Rep. of the Board of Regents*, 1895, pp. 342 sq. Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, p. 113. (Ahts).

<sup>3)</sup> Teit, 'The Lillooet Indians', in *The Jesup Expedition*, ii. pt. v. 255.

<sup>4)</sup> Dorsey, 'Omaha Sociology', in *Smithsonian Reports*, iii. 218.

<sup>5)</sup> Bancroft, *Works*, i. 123.

<sup>6)</sup> Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 298. sq.

<sup>7)</sup> Burckhardt, *Bedouins and Waháby*, i. 72.



of sacrifices is reckoned among the *salâthin* or is called a *sirkal*, which has the same meaning as „gentleman.“ Men who are obliged to work for their daily bread are called *dshingal*, and those who are often without means of support are *dagag*, that is, beggars. The lowest class of all is the *barkelâ*, which means „without ears“, for among this people the possession of the ears denotes consequence.<sup>1)</sup> With each step in rank that a man of the Ahts acquires by giving away property to his countrymen there is usually a change of name, „and thus, bearing different names, the industrious or acquisitive native may rise from one honour to another, till finally he reaches a high position.“<sup>2)</sup>

We generally hear that the rich are known from the poor by their equipment and attire, sometimes also by their distinctive marks and badges. It is only natural that the dress of the rich should be more costly than that of the poor, more complete, of better material, more richly ornamented, etc. As an example we may quote how among the Upper Lillooet Indians the wealthiest men „wore robes of unsmoked buckskin elaborately painted with pictures of animals, birds etc., in red and brown. Others used marmot-skin robes, the hair side worn next the body, and the outside painted with pictures in red, white, and yellow. — — The poorest people wore robes woven of sagebrush-bark or of dry willow-bark shredded and woven, after being mixed with down and short feathers of ducks and grouse.“<sup>3)</sup> The Masai have a highly valued armlet called *ol-masangus*, which no elder may wear unless he has large herds of cattle and many children. He who is well known to possess many head of cattle and also many children may wear this armlet as a sign of his wealth.<sup>4)</sup> As the necklaces of grizzly-bear claws worn by the Dacotahs are costly, they signify wealth without being symbols of chieftainship.<sup>5)</sup> We are told that among

1) Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, i. 241.

2) Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, p. 113.

3) Teit, 'The Lillooet Indians', in *The Jesup Expedition*, ii. pt. v. 218.

4) Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 284.

5) Beckwith, 'Customs of the Dacotahs', in *Ann. Rep. of the Board of Regents*, 1885—86, pt. i. 253.

the Gold Coast natives rich people have the privilege of using ivory blowing-horns and of carrying two shields, a favour not allowed to any one who has not qualified himself by giving feasts to his tribesmen. They owe their advance only to themselves and their money, this honour being always open to those who can bear the expense.<sup>1)</sup>

✓Wealth enables the possessor to acquire all kinds of advantages which the poor must do without and constitutes therefore in itself a source of new distinctions. ✓One factor that accompanies riches, and which at least to a certain extent is itself a source of wealth, is polygamy. Professor Westermarck has shown how this form of wedlock in the countries where it exists is especially a prerogative of wealth and rank. There are in fact innumerable instances to prove that the great majority of those who have several wives and concubines are the rich and renowned, in certain cases also the aged, while the poor must be content with one or two wives, or even none at all.<sup>2)</sup> The reason why the poor man cannot

<sup>1)</sup> Bosman, *Coast of Guinea*, pp. 135 sqq.

<sup>2)</sup> Buchner, *Kamerun*, p. 31. Allen and Thomson, *River Niger*, ii. 204 (Edeeyahs of Fernando Po). Hecquard, *Voyage sur la Côte de l'Afrique Occidentale*, p. 68 (Bassamans). Du Chaillu, 'People of West Equatorial Africa', in *Trans. Ethn. Soc. N. S. i.* 309. Phillips, 'Lower Congo', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xvii. 225. Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, pp. 248, 326, 524 (Marea a. o. tribes); *id.*, *Bogos*, p. 64. Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, ii. 176 sq., 685 (Baele and tribes of Bagirmi). Proyard, 'Loango', in *Pinkerton*, xvi. 568 sq. Baker, *Albert Nyanza*, i. 206 (Latookas). Krapf, *Travels in Eastern Africa*, p. 388 (Usambara). Burton, *Lake Regions*, ii. 24 (Wanyamweci). Von der Decken, *Reisen in Ost-Afrika*, i. 93, 236 (Suaheli, Wakamba). Emin Pasha, *Central Africa*, p. 85 (Wanyoro). Sibree, *Madagascar*, p. 195. Fisher, 'Memoirs of Sylhet', in *Jour. As. Soc. of Bengal*, xix. 832. Dareste, *Nouvelles Etudes d'Histoire du Droit*, p. 322 (Cambodians). Forbes, *Burma and its People*, p. 64. Gray, *China*, i. 184. Riedel, *Stuik-en kroesharige Rassen*, p. 302; Zimmermann, *Inseln des Indischen und Stillen Meeres*, i. 27 (Certain Malays). Wilkes, *Narrative of the U. S. Exploring Expedition*, v. 74. (Natives of Ellice's and Kingsmill Group). Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, ii. 44 sq. (Fijians). Codrington, *Melanesians*, p. 245. Hardisty, Loucheux Indians, in *Ann. Rep. of the Board of Regents*, 1866, p. 312; Hooper, *Ten Months among the Tents of the Tuski*, p. 271 (Loucheux). Mayne, *Four Years in British Columbia*, p. 276 (Coast tribes). Roquefeuil, 'Reise um die Welt', in *Ethnographisches Archiv*, xxi. 323 (Nootkas a. o.). Bancroft, *Works*, i. 134, 168, 195, 241, 350, 410, 729, 772 (Kenais, Columbians, Nootkas. Chinooks, Californians, Mosquitos, Isthmians).



possess several wives is that he is not able to pay the purchase-money for them,<sup>1)</sup> that he cannot maintain a number of wives,<sup>2)</sup> occasionally also that he is without means to defray the wedding expenses, or something of the kind.<sup>3)</sup>

Although polygamy pre-supposes wealth, we see on the other hand how a number of wives can in various ways contribute to a man's opulence and social position. Professor Westermarck gives us many different reasons why a man may desire to possess more than one wife.<sup>4)</sup> In the first place we

<sup>1)</sup> Allen and Thomson, *River Niger*, ii. 106 (Nufi). Beecham, *Ashantee*, p. 124. Wilson, *Western Africa*, pp. 180, 265 (Ashantee and tribes of South Guinea). Lenz, 'Fan', in *Deutsche Geogr. Blätter*, i. 75. New, *Life in Eastern Africa*, p. 120 (Wanika). Johnston, *Kilima-Njaro Expedition*, p. 416 (Masai). Andersson, *Lake Ngami*, p. 465 (Bechuanas). Barrow, *Travels into the Interior of South Africa*, i. 159, (Kafirs). Chapman, *Travels in South Africa*, i. 341 (Damaras). Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, p. 33 (Miris); *id.*, 'Ethnologie Bengalens', in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, v. 189 (Mishmis). Castrén, *Nordiska resor och forskningar*, i. 311 sq. (Ostyaks). Ahlqvist *Unter Wogulen und Ostjaken*, p. 291. Falkner, *Description of Patagonia*, p. 124. Alcedo, *Dictionary of America and the West Indies*, i. 416 (Araucanians). Wilson, 'Indian Tribes in the Vicinity of the 49:th Parallel', in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc. N. S.* iv. 281.

<sup>2)</sup> Post, *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, i. 304. Monrad, *Guinea*, pp. 49 sq. Winterbottom, *Sierra Leone*, i. 145. Forbes, *Dahomey and the Dahomans*, i. 25 sq. Dapper, *Africa*, pp. 360, 392, 499 sq. (Arriareos and people of Quioia and Loango). Hecquard, *Voyage sur la Côte de l'Afrique Occidentale*, pp. 21, 125 (M'Pongos and people of Fogni). Wildmann, 'People about Little Popo', in *Trans. Ethn. Soc. N. S.* iv. 273. Chaillié, *Travels to Timbuctoo*, i. 157, 348 (Bambaras, Landamas and Nalous). Burton, *Lake Regions*, i. 118 (Wazaramo). Haggenmacher, 'Reise in Somali-Lande', in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsheft x. 29. Bruce, *Travels to discover the Source of the Nile*, i. 280 (Jidda). Andersson, *Lake Ngami*, p. 199 (Ovambo). Kolben, *Present State of the Cape of Good-Hope*, i. 155; Chapman, *Travels in South Africa*, i. 330 (Hottentots). Shaw, 'The Betsileo', in *Antananarivo Annual*, iv. 8. Boss, *History of Corea*, p. 315. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, iv. 435 (Hawaiians). Fitzroy, *Narrative of the Voyages of Adventure and Beagle*, ii. 152 (Patagonians). Jones, *History of The Ojebway Indians*, p. 81. Hunter, *Memoirs of a Captivity among the Indians*, p. 232 (Indians West of the Mississippi). Langsdorff, *Voyage in Various Parts of the World*, ii. 47 (Alents). Hooper, *Ten Months among the Tents of the Tuski*, p. 100.

<sup>3)</sup> Soyaux, *Aus West-Africa*, i. 162 (People of Loango). Burton, *Lake Regions*, i. 118 (Wazaramo). Alcedo, *Dictionary of America and the West Indies*, i. 416 (Araucanians).

<sup>4)</sup> Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, pp. 483—492.

have to consider that a plurality of wives means so many more labourers. An Indian with one wife only, says Dorsey, speaking of the Asiniboin tribe of the Dacotahs, „cannot amass property, as the wife is constantly occupied in household labours, and has no time for preparing skins for trading“. A plurality of wives is therefore required by a good hunter.<sup>1)</sup> The more wives a man has, the more and larger fields he can cultivate and the more robes and furs they can tan for him.<sup>2)</sup>

The dowry of the wives directly contributes to the wealth of the family.<sup>3)</sup> Children, also, when they grow up, add to the riches of their father through their labour and give him prominence and respectability in society,<sup>4)</sup> and therefore a numerous family is greatly coveted among many people. It is recorded that the more children, especially male children, a Chinese has, the more he is revered, a large family of sons being regarded as a mark of the divine favour.<sup>5)</sup> Daughters bring their father wealth and influence through the purchase-money given for them and through the number of new relations added to the family when they are married. Thus, for example, „the more daughters a Sotho has, the more cattle he will some time get.“<sup>6)</sup> The headmen among the North-West Australians are said to possess a considerable amount of authority „having many wives and the power of giving women away to be wives of others.“<sup>7)</sup> The more wives a Blackfoot Indian had, the richer he was. „He could always find young men to hunt for him.“<sup>8)</sup> We even

<sup>1)</sup> Dorsey, 'Siouan Sociology', in *Smithsonian Reports*, xv. 225.

<sup>2)</sup> Kielland, *Zululandet*, pp. 60 sq. Magyar, *Reisen in Süd-Africa*, i. 215. Endemann, 'Die Sotho-Neger', in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vi. 39. Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 218.

<sup>3)</sup> Soyaux, *Aus West-Africa*, i. 162 (People of Loango).

<sup>4)</sup> Endemann, *loc. cit.*, vi. 39. Wilson, *Western Africa*, p. 269 (Tribes of South Guinea). — „Die Weiber“, says Buchner in his work *Kamerun*, „sind das Kapital des Mannes, und die Kinder, die er aus ihnen zu erziehen hofft, sind seine Zinsen.“ — p. 31.

<sup>5)</sup> Gray, *China*, i. 183.

<sup>6)</sup> Endemann, *loc. cit.*, vi. 39.

<sup>7)</sup> Bassett-Smith, 'Aborigines of North West Australia', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxiii. 325.

<sup>8)</sup> Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 218.



learn that among the Aleuts the office of chief was generally conferred on him who was most remarkable for his personal qualities, or who possessed great influence by the number of his friends. „Hence the person who had the largest family would generally be chosen.“<sup>1)</sup>

„If you have no brothers, do not go to a place of quarrels“, says a proverb of the Badagas,<sup>2)</sup> and as a matter of fact we see how on all occasions of life reliable supporters are of great consequence for a man among barbarous races. A plurality of wives will connect a man with other families of his own or alien tribes. We not only learn that a man who has several wives can entertain a considerable number of guests, which is a sign of greatness,<sup>3)</sup> but also that the special interest of enriching oneself and having many relations is one of the chief purposes of polygamy.<sup>4)</sup> „To have a father-in-law in Africa“, writes du Chaillu, „means to have a friend in need. — — In fact, the more wives a man has the more power he gains in this way, and women are chiefly valuable because by their means amicable and commercial relations are cultivated and subsist between the tribes.“<sup>5)</sup> Intermarriage with other tribes is also sought by the higher classes of the Ahts to strengthen the foreign connections of their own tribe, while the poorer orders are unable to do otherwise than marry among their own people.<sup>6)</sup>

With regard to all this the fact will be easily accounted for that polygamy, wherever it exists, is highly respected and leads to social importance and power.<sup>7)</sup> As Professor Wester-

<sup>1)</sup> Coxe, *Russian Discoveries between Asia and America*, p. 259.

<sup>2)</sup> *Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, p. 96.

<sup>3)</sup> Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, p. 337 (Maori). Endemann, 'Die Sotho-Neger', in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vi. 40.

<sup>4)</sup> Cf. Munzinger, *Bogos*, p. 65.

<sup>5)</sup> Du Chaillu, *Equatorial Africa*, pp. 35 sq.

<sup>6)</sup> Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, p. 99.

<sup>7)</sup> Cf., for instance, Peters, 'Muata Cazembe', in *Zeitschrift für allgem. Erdkunde*, vi. 282 (Maraves). Chavanne, *Im alten und neuen Kongostaate*, pp. 398 sq. (Bafioté). Shaw, 'The Betsileo', in *Antananarivo Annual*, iv. (1878) p. 8. Wilson, 'Indian Tribes in the Vicinity of the 49:th Parallel', in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc. N. S.* iv. 281. Du Tertre, *Histoire Générale des Antilles*, ii. 378 (Caraihs).

marck has pointed out, statements such as „a man's greatness is ever proportionate to the number of his wives“, or „polyamy is held to be the test of his wealth and consequence“, are very frequently met with in books of travels.<sup>1)</sup> — On the other hand we see that men who have not been able to acquire even one wife stand low in popular estimation. A poor Kafir, for instance, without a wife is despised and has no voice in the Kraal.<sup>2)</sup> In Fiji, and throughout the Pacific generally, „a man is considered miserable indeed who has no wife.“<sup>3)</sup> Among the Cherkesses of the Caucasus celibacy is thought dishonourable; whoever remains single in mature age is scornfully treated by his fellow-tribesmen.<sup>4)</sup> The Tupi of Brazil did not suffer anyone to participate in the drinking-feast while he remained single.<sup>5)</sup>

✓ We have seen how the different degrees of wealth tend to divide rich and poor from each other into separate classes and how the advantages that property brings with it are calculated to maintain and increase this division. ✓ Wealth is in point of fact in regard to the rise of classes a more important factor than merely personal qualities for this reason, that it preserves in a higher degree than these to coming generations the position attained by a preceding one. ✓ Wealth constitutes a far more stable pre-eminence, and when certain families have for several generations maintained the same precedence of all others, the importance which always lies in tradition gains so much the more validity.<sup>6)</sup> The question of the keeping-up of class inequality through inherited property is not directly influenced by the fact of the inheritance being reckoned on the father's or on the mother's side. For from whomsoever

1) Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, p. 492.

2) Weber, *Vier Jahre in Africa*, ii. 215.

3) Pritchard, *Polynesian Reminiscences*, p. 372.

4) Bodenstein, *Völker des Kaukasus*, ii. 50.

5) Alcedo, *Dictionary of America and the West Indies*, i. 197.

6) Cf. Millar who expresses a similar opinion. — *Origin of Ranks* pp. 152 sq.



property is inherited, that property is held thereafter by one or more of the nearest relations in regular succession.

✓To the retaining of property within a certain class the custom contributes which we hear of as existing among various uncivilized peoples, viz., that rich persons in general marry only the rich. Emin Pasha says with reference to the Dinka in Central Africa, „rich people will only give their daughters in marriage to men who possess cattle, and so they form a kind of clan bound together both by relationship and similarity of interests, to aid each other in case of any attack.“<sup>1)</sup> Concerning the Koryaks we read: „In their marriages the rich match with the rich and the poor with the poor, with little regard either to intellect or beauty.“<sup>2)</sup> —✓In this custom we see a feature of class-endogamy which, as is well known, prevails among many peoples who are divided into separate classes or ranks.

In considering the influence of property upon the formation of classes we have to notice that this self-evidently does not apply to the lowest stages of human development. As we cannot in respect of the lowest races speak of rank-classes, so neither can there exist among these peoples any private property that could give the one tribesman an economic advantage over the other. Land is not an individual possession; the few effects that are a man's own, such as weapons and implements, are of small value, and the same may be said of the profits of fishing and of the chase, etc., before the advent of trade and barter. ✓In general one can scarcely speak of the existence of considerable property among the lowest peoples. ✓But as soon as the conditions for the accumulation of individual wealth are present we notice also the unequal distribution of property and, in connection with that inequality, the difference in classes.

✓Although many peoples, even in a somewhat low stage of development, make a distinction between nobility and wealth, we see, on the other hand, that these advantages are generally found existing side by side. It is noticeable that

1) Emin Pasha, *Central Africa*, p. 337.

2) Крашенениковъ, *Камчатка*, ii. 163.

wealth in many cases constitutes a condition for nobility and is sometimes even rated higher than noble descent. We are informed, for instance, that among the negroes on the Gold Coast „the richest man is the most honoured, without the least regard to nobility.“<sup>1)</sup> The village chiefs of the Equatorial African tribes are said to be venerated because they are always rich and of advanced age.<sup>2)</sup> Respecting the Indian tribes of Oregon we are told that „generosity and wealth are the two qualifications that give most consequence“; after these comes noble blood.<sup>3)</sup> And among the Ahts inherited rank, unless accompanied with wealth, is a poor possession.<sup>4)</sup> A Persian who acquires wealth is said in certain cases to be able to assume their title of nobility, *Chan*, but if a noble family becomes poor the title is forfeited, although some occasionally retain it even in the most humble positions.<sup>5)</sup> Among the Tlinkets also nobility is hereditary, but all the same it depends entirely upon wealth.<sup>6)</sup>

How nearly riches and nobility are allied is demonstrated by the fact that among several peoples a considerable hereditary property is said to be the only condition for the attainment of a position of nobility. Dr. Paulitschke writes concerning the Gallas that if a fairly large property is retained in a native family, and if to this is added the being chosen *abba boku*, or one of the king's confidential men, a rank of nobility is therewith of itself acquired for that family.<sup>7)</sup>

Among the Cape Coast natives the rank of a cabbocceer or chief „appears open to any one possessed of riches, who has the ambition to aspire to it.“<sup>8)</sup> The Kirghises are said to regard anybody who acquires wealth as being also noble.<sup>9)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Bosman, *Coast of Guinea*, p. 132.

<sup>2)</sup> Reade, *Savage Africa*, p. 258.

<sup>3)</sup> Wilkes, *Narrative of the U. S. Exploring Expedition*, iv. 455.

<sup>4)</sup> Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, p. 115.

<sup>5)</sup> Polak, *Persien*, i. 36.

<sup>6)</sup> Holmberg, *Völker des Russischen Amerika*, p. 294.

<sup>7)</sup> Paulitschke, *Ethnographies Nordost-Afrikas*, ii. 138.

<sup>8)</sup> Cruickshank, *Gold Coast*, i. 243.

<sup>9)</sup> Georgi, *Russland*, i. 216.



Certain families of the Tlinkets occupy a higher rank than the others and constitute a kind of nobility, a precedence, however, which is less due to descent than to hereditary property.<sup>1)</sup>

✓Analogous to the fact that riches raise the uppermost classes to a privileged rank we see how the poor and destitute sink to a subordinate position and form a menial and dependent class. Among several peoples we notice a very early inequality of classes in consequence of a differentiation arising from different degrees of wealth. The rich Mongols, for instance, who possess numerous flocks and herds require a great number of shepherds and herdsmen to look after them, a service which is only undertaken by the poorest and most defenceless natives, and even by them only in cases of urgent necessity.<sup>2)</sup> When rich Kirghises cannot otherwise procure herdsmen they bestow a number of cattle upon poor people who in return tend with them the cattle of their benefactors.<sup>3)</sup> In later times, it is said of the same people, the number of the population has greatly increased, „et les nombreux pauvres sont obligés de se mettre en service chez les riches. Leur position équivaut à un véritable servage. Ils servent sans recevoir de salaire et pour la nourriture seulement.“<sup>4)</sup> The dependent class in Lower Congo „consists of poor free people who attach themselves to the strong man for protection, and in return acknowledge his authority. It is necessary to belong in some form to some man of influence and consideration, or the individual is open to depredation on all sides and obtains the support of none.“<sup>5)</sup> According to Fritsch the wealthy among all South-African natives exercise a tyrannical influence over the poor who for their existence submit to a state of dependence.<sup>6)</sup> Among the Central Eskimo unmarried men without any relations, cripples and those who have lost their

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<sup>1)</sup> Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, p. 122.

<sup>2)</sup> Пржевальскій *Монголия*, i. 41.

<sup>3)</sup> Georgi, *Russland*, i. 211.

<sup>4)</sup> Ujfalvy, *Expédition Scientifique en Russie*, ii. 112.

<sup>5)</sup> Phillips, 'Lower Congo', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xvii. 224

<sup>6)</sup> Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrikas*, p. 364.

sledges and dogs, undertake all sorts of minor occupations and may almost be considered as servants, although their position is a voluntary one.<sup>1)</sup> The Charruas Indians are all equal, but it sometimes happens that some old woman who has no means of subsistence assists in various domestic and other work like a servant.<sup>2)</sup> In the Blackfoot camps there were always a number of boys, orphans, „who became the servants of wealthy men for a consideration; that is, they looked after their patron's horses and hunted, and in return they were provided with suitable food and clothing.“<sup>3)</sup> When, among the Todas, children have to pay the debts of their father, „they may give their services to others, receiving in return money and other recompence.“<sup>4)</sup> If a Kingsmill Islander has several children equal in rank, the eldest inherits twice as much land as the others or even the whole, and is obliged to support his brothers and sisters, who sink thus into a certain state of dependence.“<sup>5)</sup>

1) Boas, 'The Central Eskimo', in *Smithsonian Reports*, vi. 581.

2) Azara, *Amérique Méridionale*, ii. 15.

3) Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 219.

4) Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 566.

5) Wilkes, *Narrative of U. S. Exploring Expedition*, v. 85.



## CHAPTER IV.

*Social Differentiation as influenced by the Development of Trades.*

✓The various circumstances which are the cause of class distinctions have in general not worked in isolation from each other. ✓As we have earlier pointed out, personal qualities and economic conditions have evidently in many cases co-operated in raising or lowering one group of the members of a community in relation to another. Other factors also have contributed to the rise of class-inequality, and one such has been the development of trades and handicrafts. ✓All concomitant agencies represent varying aspects of the same fact: that the best equipped -- in whatsoever respect -- is the one who gains the greatest advantage over his less well equipped neighbour.

✓Division of labour brings with it a tendency to cause different groups of the population in some degree to separate from each other. And the preference which from various causes is given to one or the other calling has contributed to the rise of a scale of rank with regard to different groups of craftsmen. ✓In general we see how different occupations characterise the different class-groupings in all stages.

✓In the lowest order of human communities there is no real division of labour except that which exists between the sexes. ✓One man may be more skilful than another in some one kind of work and so gain an advantage, but as a rule every man does for himself what he requires and his only helper is the woman.<sup>1)</sup> „Each one“, says Hodgson of the

<sup>1)</sup> In his book *Formen der Familie*, Dr. Grosse states with reference to the lower hunting races: „Einer so dünnen und beweglichen Bevölkerung

Bodo and Dhimal people, „builds and furnishes his own house, makes the wooden implements he requires and is his own barber, or his neighbour for him, and he for his neighbour. — His wife spins, weaves and dyes the clothes of the family, and brews the beer which all members of it freely consume. Thus, all manufacturers are domestic, and all arts.“<sup>1)</sup> Respecting the Ghiliaks on the Lower Amur River we read in the description of Dr. Deniker: — „Il n'existe aucune industrie special — — chacun fabrique lui-même tout ce qu'il lui faut; dans ces cas il y a fort peu de gens très riches et très pauvres.“<sup>2)</sup> Among the Australian natives it is the same: „Each of the principal men and priests seeks for his food, and ministers to his wants (with such help as he gets from his wives), and has no one whom he can call servant.“<sup>3)</sup> Nor have the Nicobarese any actual division of labour, but all assist in whatever has to be done, from their earliest years.<sup>4)</sup>

It has been specially mentioned in descriptions of numerous peoples, not only of the lowest but also of somewhat advanced races, that no particular class of warriors exists, but that in time of war every man capable of bearing arms takes the field.<sup>5)</sup>

fehlt in der Tat die erste Vorbedingung für vollkommenere technische Leistungen, die Möglichkeit einigermaßen ausgebildeten Arbeitsteilung. Die einzige Form der Arbeitsteilung, welche auch unter den rohesten Stämmen herrscht, ist die von der Natur erzwungene, unter allen Umständen notwendige zwischen den beiden Geschlechtern. Im Übrigen aber hat jeder Mann und jedes Weib alle die verschiedenartigen Hantirungen zu besorgen, die seinem Geschlechte zukommen. Es giebt hier weder besondere Handwerkerklassen, noch einen Jäger-, noch einen Kriegerstand, sondern jeder Einzelne verfertigt sich seine Werkzeuge und Waffen selbst und jeder gebraucht sie auch selbst.“ — P. 38. Cf. Ellis, *History of Madagascar*, pp. 290 sq., who expresses a similar view.

<sup>1)</sup> Hodgson, 'Kóech, Bodo and Dhimal People', in *Jour. As. Soc.* xviii. 717.

<sup>2)</sup> Deniker, 'Les Ghiliaks', in *Revue d'Ethnographie*, ii. 309.

<sup>3)</sup> Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 127 sq.

<sup>4)</sup> Kloss, *In the Andamans and Nicobars*, p. 242.

<sup>5)</sup> Gibbs, 'Tribes of N. Washington and N. W. Oregon', in *Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, i. 185. Thomson, 'Easter Island', in *Ann. Rep. of the Board of Regents*, 1888—89, p. 475. Williams, *Fiji*, p. 36. Ellis, *Hawaii*, p. 133. Torday and Joyce, 'Ethnographie of the Ba-Yaka', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxxvi. 49. Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, ii. 135 (Somali, Danakil and Galla). Hutter, *Nord-Hinterland von Kamerun*, p. 355. Ellis, *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, p. 171.



Gradually a division of the common work has come to pass. While, for instance, all the men are capable of sustaining their part in any one of the different branches of labour, we nevertheless see that one man from aptitude and inclination applies himself by preference to one kind of work and another in like manner to another kind. Especially when a handicraft demands a certain skilfulness there is a tendency to leave it entirely in the hands of certain competent persons, while on the other hand ordinary, every day work is done by each man for himself. The rich and powerful prefer to leave every kind of employment to others, whereby division of labour is brought about. — Many peoples exemplify such a commencement of differential callings. Among the Tlinkets, for instance, the chief occupations of the men are hunting and fishing, various other kinds of work being done between whiles at home. Gradually, however, a division of labour has come to pass among them, so that one man performs a certain kind of work, another man another; thus in all places there are those who employ themselves specially with the fabrication of wooden articles, with silver and iron work, etc.<sup>1)</sup> The coast population of the Andaman Islands is divided into two groups, the one being chiefly employed in constructing canoes, etc., the other engaged in fishing and, hunting, but each acquires a certain knowledge of the duties of the other.<sup>2)</sup> Among the Indians of South Alaska and British Columbia different men and women are said to acquire adeptness in different industries and devote their leisure to their trade. Some of the men are expert house-carpenters, canoe-builders, etc., while others enjoy prestige as successful hunters or fishermen. Some of the women are basket-makers, carvers of household utensils, weavers, etc.<sup>3)</sup> A certain division of labour prevails among the Lillooet Indians, „but many men cut and sewed their own clothes and moccasins and cut up and cleaned fish, etc.“<sup>4)</sup> In ancient

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1) Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, pp. 158 sq.

2) Man, 'Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xii. 102.

3) Niblack, 'Coast Indians', in *Ann. Rep. of the Board of Regents*, 1887—88, p. 254.

4) Teit, 'Lillooet Indians', in *The Jesup Expedition*, vol. ii. pt. v. 356 sq.

Peru there were no particular tradesmen, tailors, shoemakers, weavers or carpenters. but everyone learned what was needful for their persons and houses, and provided for themselves. All could weave and make their own garments, every man could till the ground, all built their own houses, and the women served their husbands carefully. But such arts and trades as were not ordinary and necessary for the life of man, had their proper companies and workmen, as goldsmiths, painters, potters, watermen, and players of instruments. There were also weavers and workmen for the more exquisite articles, which the noblemen used.<sup>1)</sup> Among the Kalmouks of the Altai Mountains in North Central Asia every man is supposed to know how to construct a tent, to carve vessels in wood and to make leather straps, but the rich generally leave the execution of these works to their poor neighbours, who in return are supplied with food. Those who particularly distinguish themselves in one or other of these occupations are much sought after and offer us an example of the origin of a professional class of tradesmen.<sup>2)</sup> The chiefs and rich men among the Sotho in South Africa summon persons willing to do agricultural work, and slaughter a number of oxen for their regalement.<sup>3)</sup> Every man among the Noeforese can execute the necessary handicrafts, that of the smith only being distinct for itself, for it is not everyone who understands it.<sup>4)</sup> Similarly among the Foolas of Sierra Leone, although the division of labour and separation of trades is almost unknown, yet some progress has been made in forming distinct occupations.<sup>5)</sup>

With the division of labour and trades varying degrees of social estimation are assigned to the different groups of workers. One craft is valued more highly than another, and

<sup>1)</sup> Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, lib. vi. cap. 16. Garcilasso, *Primera Parte de los Comentarios Reales*, lib. iv. cap. 13. Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, i. 153.

<sup>2)</sup> Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, i. 293.

<sup>3)</sup> Endemann, 'Die Sotho-Neger', in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vi. 27.

<sup>4)</sup> Hasselt, 'Die Noeforezen', *ib.*, viii. 170.

<sup>5)</sup> Winterbottom, *Sierra Leone*, i. 89, 91.



in consequence the man working at that craft enjoys greater consideration, while the contrary is the case with other trades. Although in this matter personal conditions play an important part, certain crafts are intrinsically calculated to win esteem or also to be but slightly regarded. Naturally those occupations obtain most respect which call for strength, courage and enterprise, qualities which are highly prized by all savage peoples. To this group belong skilful hunters and fishers, as many instances prove. The Kamchadales regarded those as heroes who distinguished themselves as hunters of the sea-lion, many devoting their energies to this chase, not for the sake of the spoil, but in order to win glory. <sup>1)</sup> In Fiji „a successful shark or turtle hunter gains much reputation.“ <sup>2)</sup> In Central Africa, also, fishing and hunting are looked upon as more dignified occupations than others, <sup>3)</sup> and among the Arabs, „la chasse au lion est en grand honneur.“ <sup>4)</sup> „Formerly“, we read concerning the Indians of Cape Flattery, „it was considered degrading for a chief, or the owner of slaves, to perform any labour, except hunting, fishing, or killing whales; proficiency in any of these exercises was a consideration that enabled the most expert to aspire to the honour of being a chief or head man.“ <sup>5)</sup> — In general whalers and harpooners among the hunting and fishing tribes on the North Pacific coast form almost a privileged class. Thus among the Nootkas and Ahts they possess a high rank which is handed down from father to son. <sup>6)</sup> By the Konjagas expert whalers were held in great reverence, and their bodies were after death used as charms for certain propitious purposes. <sup>7)</sup> Young men of the Makah, previous to becoming whalers, have to go

<sup>1)</sup> Крашененниковъ, *Камчатка*, i. 272.

<sup>2)</sup> Anderson, *Fiji and New Caledonia*, p. 107.

<sup>3)</sup> Macdonald, *Africana*, i. 36.

<sup>4)</sup> Daumas, *Moeurs et Coutumes de l'Algerie*, p. 79.

<sup>5)</sup> Swan, 'Indians of Cape Flattery', in *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, xvi. n.r viii. p. 11.

<sup>6)</sup> Bancroft, *Works*, i. 194. Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, p. 116.

<sup>7)</sup> Holmberg, *Völker des Russischen Amerika*, p. 391.

through a species of probation, some only of them attaining the dignity of whalers while, a second class devote themselves to halibut, and a third to salmon and inferior fish, the several occupations being kept distinct, at least in a great measure.<sup>1)</sup> — Equally natural it is that the profession of a warrior is counted honourable and holds a high position in social estimation.<sup>2)</sup>

The special importance which is attached to certain kinds of work, and the skill required for their execution is manifestly the reason why they generally stand in higher estimation than others. ✓ A work which demands a certain natural aptitude and a certain training, and which cannot therefore be done by anybody, tends in consequence to pass into a craft which is carried on only by a certain group of persons.<sup>3)</sup> The class of carpenters and canoe-builders among the Polynesian Islanders, offers us an example. Thus the Kingsmill Islanders from the importance of their structures or buildings, hold the trade of a carpenter in great repute,<sup>4)</sup> and the same is stated with regard to the Tahitians.<sup>5)</sup> In Tonga only members of the distinguished classes of the *matabooles* and *mooas* build canoes and houses, „for no person of so low rank as a *tooa* can practise such respectable arts.“ This employment is also kept strictly hereditary.<sup>6)</sup> In Samoa<sup>7)</sup> and Fiji<sup>8)</sup> also, canoe- and house building is a distinct trade

<sup>1)</sup> Gibbs, 'Tribes of W. Washington and N. W. Oregon', in *Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, i. 175.

<sup>2)</sup> Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, lib. vi. cap. xxvi; Clavigero, *Historia Antigua de Mexico*, i. 329 (Ancient Mexicans). — Carver, *Three Years Travels through North-America*, p. 184 (Certain Indians). *The History of Herodotus*, b. v. ch. 6.

<sup>3)</sup> In *Bausteine*, Professor Post remarks that occupations which require great skill and which are regarded as specially important constitute the origin of class-inequality. — ii. 52.

<sup>4)</sup> Wilkes, *U. S. Exploring Expedition*, v. 94.

<sup>5)</sup> Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, iii. 96.

<sup>6)</sup> Mariner, *Tonga*, ii. 92. Zimmermann, *Inseln des Indischen und Stillen Meeres*, ii. 547 sq. Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, ii, 84 sq. West, *Ten Years in Polynesia*, p. 260.

<sup>7)</sup> Wilkes, *op. cit.*, ii. 143. Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, p. 181.

<sup>8)</sup> Williams, *Fiji*, p. 60.



and in the latter island there is even said to be a particular god of carpenters.<sup>1)</sup>

Tattooing also, which requires considerable skill in the executor, has in many places developed into a craft standing in more or less high estimation. Tattooing was specially appreciated by the New Zealand aborigines, who were known for their predilection for this art. „No man could tattoo himself, and the delicacy of touch and certainty of line were so difficult of attainment, that tattooing became an art or science, which was left in the hands of a few practitioners, who derived a good income from their business.“<sup>2)</sup> In Tonga tattooing, on account of the skilfulness required, is practised by the *Mooa*, or the class above the ordinary handicraftsmen, although it is not so highly thought of as in New Zealand.<sup>3)</sup> In Samoa,<sup>4)</sup> Melanesia, the Kingsmill Islands,<sup>5)</sup> and in Bornabi<sup>6)</sup> tattooing is a regular profession. — For similar reasons, probably, circumcision has in certain countries become an honourable profession of its own. Thus among the Akikuyu Indians „skilled old men, of whom there are always a few in every district, perform the operation on boys, and old women on girls. The position of circumcisor (*muruthia*) in an honourable one and is hereditary.“<sup>7)</sup> The Kafir circumcisors constitute a professional class.<sup>8)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Hale, 'Ethnography and Philology', in Wilkes, *U. S. Exploring Expedition*, p. 53. Pritchard, *Polynesian Reminiscences*, pp. 362 sq. — We have to take note that in certain countries in Africa and Asia carpentry shares the lot of so many other handicrafts which from reasons hitherto unexplained are deemed unclean and are therefore despised. Cf. Mollien, *Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique*, i. 102, 284 (Jolofs and Futatoro). Raverty, 'Siahposch', in *Globus*, viii. 342 (People of Kafirstan). Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, p. 324. 'Aus Nepal und Tibet', in *Ausland*, xlix. 93.

<sup>2)</sup> Wood, *Natural History of Man*, ii. 115.

<sup>3)</sup> Zimmermann, *Inseln des Indischen und Stillen Meeres*, i. 548. Mariner, *Tonga*, ii. 93.

<sup>4)</sup> Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, p. 181. Wilkes, *U. S. Exploring Expedition*, ii. 141.

<sup>5)</sup> Hale, *op. cit.*, vi. 63, 102.

<sup>6)</sup> Cheyne, *Western Pacific Ocean*, p. 116.

<sup>7)</sup> Tate, 'Notes on the Kiguyu and Kamba Tribes', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxxiv. 265.

<sup>8)</sup> Barrow, *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa*, i. 166.

It is a very common trait among most uncivilized peoples that employments are hereditary. So far as we can see, this occurs preferably in the male line. The maternal legal bands which confine inheritance to the female line, have in the main not extended to trades or crafts, in regard to which inheritance goes generally from father to son, not from maternal uncle to nephew.<sup>1)</sup> Trades, especially such as are considered ingenious and therefore respectable, gradually become hereditary, sons take the same work as their fathers before them, there being no motive sufficiently strong to engage them to relinquish it. Only in more developed communities may positive laws sometimes oblige them to follow the business of their fathers.

As naturally as highly respected trades are accompanied by consideration and rank, equally natural is it that employments which are despised should sink the persons engaged in them in social estimation. The statement of Herodotos, for instance, that the ancient Egyptians reckoned the pig an abominable animal and that they used to dip themselves and their garments in the water, if in passing by they touched a pig, fully accounts for the fact that swineherds also were among that people regarded as unclean, so that they were not allowed to enter any of the temples, or to marry the daughters of other families.<sup>2)</sup>

Beggars, who subsist upon the charity of others, and those who gain their living by dirty and repulsive work, stand, as may be supposed, low in the social scale.

Less easy is it to explain why certain other occupations, such as those of butchers, musicians, blacksmiths, etc., are despised, as is in general the case among uncivilized and semi-civilized peoples. These callings also are in most cases hereditary, which seems somewhat singular, as they appear to be so little desirable. The explanation evidently is that the sons of fathers who carry on a despised occupation follow the father's calling not so much from choice as from necessity,

<sup>1)</sup> Cf. Schurtz, *Das Afrikanische Gewerbe*, p. 71.

<sup>2)</sup> *The History of Herodotus*, b. ii. ch. 47.



because other paths are closed to them.<sup>1)</sup> The more difference of position is developed, so much the more does prejudice attach to the members of the humbler classes. Those who are despised by the community are isolated from all others, marriage is not contracted between them and members of other classes, but they must intermarry among themselves; even their sons and daughters are branded. Under such circumstances the sons have no other choice than to take up their father's calling, and in many cases they do so the more willingly that, contempt notwithstanding, a superstitious power is very generally an attribute of the pariah classes.<sup>2)</sup>

In general the list of despised avocations is much more comprehensive than that of the esteemed ones. Among most peoples it seems to be the rule that all handicrafts stand low in estimation; the upper classes do not engage in such, but devote themselves to war, hunting, supervision of husbandry, etc., or are almost without occupation. The tremendously binding taboos which in many parts rest upon every member of the higher classes in all their doings makes it at times even impossible for them to engage in any sort of work whatever. The necessary trades must be carried on by those who cannot in any other way make their living, and such a state of things is not calculated to confer dignity upon work. In many cases it seems difficult in any other way to account for the fact that useful and important branches of industry are looked down upon.

In mediæval Europe executioners occupied a peculiar and distinct position, they were objects of execration and dread to the population. In Germany the executioner was isolated from the rest of the community. No one would associate with him, men fled from his vicinity, even the touch of his hand was an abomination. The executioner was obliged to

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<sup>1)</sup> A similar opinion has been given by Prof. Schurtz in *Urgeschichte der Kultur*, p. 160.

<sup>2)</sup> In his *Historia General de las Indias*, Father Gomara states, respecting the ancient Mexicans, that „the poor taught their sons their own trades, not upon compulsion, but because they could do so without expense“, (p. 438), a motive which in certain cases may hold good among other peoples also.

wear an easily recognised costume, and in church he must occupy a place at a distance from all others. As a rule he could only wed with the daughters of other executioners, because no one else would bestow his child upon him. His sons — they also branded — were excluded from all other callings and were compelled therefore to follow in their father's steps. Executioners, on the other hand, were much sought after, because everywhere their services were in requisition.<sup>1)</sup> In addition they enjoyed the reputation of being „weise Leute“. The executioner was in especial supposed to be skilful in the cure of diseases, whether of man or beast. He usually enveloped his healing art in a nimbus of mystery and thereby gained the reputation of practising secret sorcery.<sup>2)</sup> — Also among several uncivilized peoples the executioner occupies an isolated position, at once feared and despised. Thus throughout the kingdom of the Masupia in East Africa no one was more feared or hated than the executioner.<sup>3)</sup> In the Caroline Group the executioners belong to the very lowest class of the people,<sup>4)</sup> and in Bengal the *Dom* class, who are sometimes employed as executioners, are deemed unclean.<sup>5)</sup>

The reason why executioners are regarded with dread and aversion stands manifestly in connection with the sinister nature of their calling. He whose profession it is to take life must expect such feelings in those surrounding him. Moreover, according to many peoples' conception, he who kills another is unclean. It has been pointed out how even victorious warriors who have slain an enemy must sometimes cleanse themselves in order to escape the baneful influence of the spirits of the slain, although their deed itself is regarded as glorious.<sup>6)</sup> Without doubt a similar idea lies at the bottom of the general conception that executioners are unclean.

<sup>1)</sup> Beneke, *Von unehrlichen Leuten*, pp. 129—135. 'Der Deutsche Scharfrichter', in *Deutsches Museum*, viii. 580 sq.

<sup>2)</sup> Beneke, *op. cit.*, pp. 140 sq. Wuttke, *Deutsche Volksaberglaube*, p. 148.

<sup>3)</sup> Holub, *Seven Years in South Africa*, ii. 226.

<sup>4)</sup> O'Connell, *Eleven Years in New Holland*, p. 129.

<sup>5)</sup> Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, pp. 325 sq.

<sup>6)</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 54.



To an analogous reason we have evidently to ascribe the fact that butchers are very generally regarded as unclean. In the Canary Islands, for instance, none exercised the trade of a butcher except the dregs of the people. This employment was accounted so ignominious, that they would not so much as allow one of that profession to enter any of their houses, or to touch any thing belonging to them. It was made unlawful for the butchers even to associate with any but those of their own trade; and when they wanted anything of another person, they were obliged to carry a staff with them, and point at the object required, standing at a considerable distance. As a compensation for this abject position, the natives were obliged to supply the butchers with everything they had occasion for. It was not lawful for any Canarian, except the butchers, to slaughter cattle.<sup>1)</sup> From different parts of Arabia we learn that the butcher's trade, as well as certain other handicrafts, passes for less than honest and is despised by all the rest of the people.<sup>2)</sup> In the Caroline Islands the slaughterers — of the only species of animals killed, viz., dogs — together with the executioners are the members of a degraded class.<sup>3)</sup> — Not only the killing of a human being, but also the killing of an animal makes a person unclean for a longer or shorter period, as we have seen in earlier examples.<sup>4)</sup> We perceive in this also the explanation of the degraded condition of the slaughterer.

The same uncleanness which is peculiar to executioners and butchers is attached also to those callings which have to do with dead bodies or other work of a similar kind. The *Dom* class in Bengal who kill dogs and remove dead bodies are considered vile and unclean.<sup>5)</sup> So too in ancient Germany were the swine-gelders and the tanners of dog-skins.<sup>6)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Glas, 'Canary Islands', in *Pinkerton*, xvi. 820.

<sup>2)</sup> Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i. 610; ii. 50. Maltzan, 'Sittenschilderungen aus Südarabien', in *Globus*, xxi. 104 sq.

<sup>3)</sup> O'Connell, *Eleven Years in New Holland*, p. 129.

<sup>4)</sup> Cf. *supra*, pp. 53 sq.

<sup>5)</sup> Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, p. 326.

<sup>6)</sup> 'Der Deutsche Scharfrichter', in *Deutsches Museum*, vii. 580. Beneke, *Von unehrlichen Leuten*, p. 72.

The skinning of carcases was by the ancient Hebrews and the Arabs held in lower esteem than any other calling.<sup>1)</sup> — Tanners, and in general all workers in leather, are regarded with the same contempt. In Nepal the trade of a tanner stands in evil repute,<sup>2)</sup> and in South Arabia it is only practised by a very low class.<sup>3)</sup> Among the ancient Hebrews the tanner was obliged to carry on his evil-smelling and despised craft outside the precincts of the city.<sup>4)</sup> The Hindoos of Bengal consider all workers in leather *ex officio* unclean.<sup>5)</sup> Among the Somali saddlers are a much despised class,<sup>6)</sup> and sons of tanners must follow their father's trade.<sup>7)</sup> In Bali also dealers in leather are in like manner with other craftsmen held unclean. Being excluded from association with their fellow-citizens, they occupy the outskirts of the villages.<sup>8)</sup> Shoe and sandal makers are held in great contempt by certain peoples in West and North Central Africa.<sup>9)</sup> — Evidently the uncleanness which is ascribed to the above-mentioned craftsmen stands in connection with the nature of their work. As the primary cause of the contempt with which they are regarded, we may consider the uncleanness supposed to be transferred from dead bodies, or portions of the same, to those who handled them, although this belief was modified later on. Also the outward uncleanliness which is inherent in certain of these callings speaks in its degree for the fact of their being held in low esteem.

<sup>1)</sup> Cook, Art. 'Handicrafts', in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, iv. 1955. Maltzan, 'Sittenschilderungen aus Südarabien', in *Globus*, xxi. 105.

<sup>2)</sup> 'Aus Nepál and Tibet', in *Ausland*, xlix. 93.

<sup>3)</sup> Maltzan, *loc. cit.*, p. 105.

<sup>4)</sup> Cook, *loc. cit.*, p. 1955.

<sup>5)</sup> Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, p. 324.

<sup>6)</sup> Haggemacher, 'Reise in Somali-Lande', in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsband, x. 35.

<sup>7)</sup> Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, ii. 141.

<sup>8)</sup> Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, ii. 238.

<sup>9)</sup> Reade, *Savage Africa*, p. 455 (Senegambians). Mollien, *Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique*, i. 102, 284 (Jolofs and people of Futatoro) Barth, *Travels in North and Central Africa*, iv. 147 (Fellani).



The profession of a cook belongs to a group of trades which is especially looked down upon in Polynesia and also in other regions. In Tonga, for instance, the business of a cook is one of the lowest in these islands. The term „cook“ is frequently applied to a man even though he be not a cook, to signify that he is of very low rank.<sup>1)</sup> In the Caroline and Gilbert Islands the cooks belong to the lowest class,<sup>2)</sup> and in New Zealand the work of cooking is generally assigned to the slaves.<sup>3)</sup> If among the Indians of British Guiana a man is by some chance „obliged to cook, except so far as is absolutely necessary on an ordinary hunting excursion, and is seen to do so by some other Indian, he feels as much shame as if he had been caught in some unworthy act.“<sup>4)</sup>

We may, we believe, conclude that the explanation of the low esteem in which cooks are held is that their work, like other domestic occupations, belongs properly to women. There may occur cases when the preparation of food is entrusted to others than those usually employed in this work, as for instance, when fear of magic induces the chiefs to have their food cooked by a man.<sup>5)</sup>

We may look upon it as a rule that men lay themselves open to shame and contempt if they busy themselves with occupations which are considered as belonging to women. „It is a common belief“, says Professor Westermarck, „that if a man does a woman's work he himself will become effeminate; besides, he will be laughed at, and called a woman.“<sup>6)</sup> By the Singhalese „it is accounted a disgrace for the man to meddle or make with those affairs that properly do belong unto the women“. <sup>7)</sup> In Senegambia, as M. Raffenel writes,

<sup>1)</sup> Mariner, *Tonga*, ii. 93. Meincke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, ii. 85.

<sup>2)</sup> O'Connell, *Eleven Years in New Holland*, p. 129. Parkinson, 'Gilbert-inseln', in *Intern. Archiv für Ethnographie*, ii. 99.

<sup>3)</sup> Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, i. 72.

<sup>4)</sup> Im Thurn, *Indians of Guiana*, pp. 255 sq.

<sup>5)</sup> Cf. Schurtz, *Das Afrikanische Gewerbe*, pp. 9 sq.

<sup>6)</sup> Westermarck, 'Position of Woman in Early Society', in *Sociological Papers*, 1904, p. 150.

<sup>7)</sup> Knox, *The Island of Ceylon*, p. 183.

„les travaux des femmes sont profondément méprisés — un nègre serait déshonoré s'il préparait le couscous ou s'il s'occupait du repas et des troupeaux.“<sup>1)</sup> The Chibchas punished a man who showed cowardice in war by dressing him in woman's clothes, and making him do woman's work.<sup>2)</sup> Among the Tuscarroras those who could not make themselves respected in the community were compelled to attend to all the common drudgeries, they were the cooks, they worked in the fields, etc.<sup>3)</sup> A Greenlander for similar reasons was obliged to subsist on woman's diet and in certain cases even seems to have been forced to serve the others like a handmaid.<sup>4)</sup> Domestic occupations in general, which usually belong to the women, stand low in popular esteem. Among the New Zealand aborigines the freedmen, and personages of the highest rank, assist in every other occupation except those of drawing water, hewing wood, flax-dressing and cooking.<sup>5)</sup> Young Indians of the Creek are obliged to light the pipes, carry the wood, and help to make black-drink for the warriors, and to perform all the menial services until they are redeemed by achieving some warlike exploit.<sup>6)</sup>

One may probably in some measure attribute to the same contempt for work originally performed by women the fact that agricultural labourers among many peoples occupy a despised position.<sup>7)</sup> As Professor Westermarck has shown, it is very frequently the women who among agricultural peoples cultivate the soil. „Whilst cattle-rearing, having developed out of the chase, is largely a masculine pursuit, agriculture, having developed out of collecting seeds and plants, originally

<sup>1)</sup> Raffeneil, *Voyage dans l'Afrique Occidentale*, pp. 18 sq.

<sup>2)</sup> Simon, *Noticias Historiales*, p. 253.

<sup>3)</sup> Featherman, *Social History of the Races of Mankind*, iii. 130 sq.

<sup>4)</sup> Cranz, *History of Greenland*, i. 163 and note.

<sup>5)</sup> Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, ii. 53.

<sup>6)</sup> Schoolcraft, *Information respecting the Indian Tribes*, v. 280.

<sup>7)</sup> Agricultural work is not despised by all peoples. The Kafirs of Kafiristan, for instance, leave most of their work to the *Baris*, who are a class of pariahs, but occupy themselves with farming and war. (Raverty, 'Siabposch', in *Globus*, viii, 342). A similar statement is given of certain natives in Futadiallon (Hecquard, *Voyage sur la Côte de l'Afrique Occidentale*, p. 337).



devolves on the women.<sup>1)</sup> When agriculture became more developed, the women's bodily strength no longer sufficed, for which reason those who owned much land were obliged to take other labourers from among those employing themselves in such work, who thereby came to occupy a dependent and despised position. To their mean estate the circumstance also contributed that no particular skill was required, as almost anyone could perform such work, and further, that this kind of work is heavier than most others. In the Tonga Islands, to give an example, the peasants together with the cooks have the lowest calling of all, they are such by inheritance, for, as Mariner says, „the chiefs, under whom they live, necessarily require their services, and their children naturally succeed them, for it does not require any great talent to learn that pursuit.“<sup>2)</sup> Among the Kands of Chutia Nágpúr there is a low bastard class called by varying names, who are regarded as vile. „The poorest of them work as farm labourers, cultivating land belonging to the Kands and making over to their landlords half the produce as rent.“<sup>3)</sup> Incapable and weak-minded men of the Tuscaroras occupied an inferior social position and were compelled to perform various menial labours, as for instance field-work.<sup>4)</sup> The Dahomeans despise agriculture, only slaves and women are employed in it.<sup>5)</sup> Not to work at all was by the ancient Thracians counted as most honourable and to be a cultivator of the soil was above all things dishonourable.<sup>6)</sup>

One calling, of which the low estimation is difficult to explain, unless we can place it in the category of those appertaining originally to women, is that of the weaver. We cannot see any other special explanation of the weavers' degradation beyond the fact that handicrafts are in general considered mean. In Bengal rearers of the silk-worm and weavers of

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<sup>1)</sup> Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i. 634.

<sup>2)</sup> Mariner, *Tonga*, ii. 93.

<sup>3)</sup> Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, p. 299.

<sup>4)</sup> Featherman, *Social History of the Races of Mankind*, iii. 130 sq.

<sup>5)</sup> Burton, *Mission to Gelele, king of Dahome*, ii. 248.

<sup>6)</sup> *The History of Herodotus*, b. v. ch. 6.

silk are considered unclean, which is also the case with the weavers of cotton piece-goods.<sup>1)</sup> Among the Kands the weavers, blacksmiths, etc., form a low pariah caste and do the despised work of the hamlets. No Kand can engage in their work without degradation, nor eat food prepared by their hands; these poor people are not allowed to hold land, to go forth to battle, or to join in the village worship.<sup>2)</sup> Similarly among the Kafirs of Kafiristan,<sup>3)</sup> the Southern Arabs<sup>4)</sup> and the Fellani<sup>5)</sup> the weavers and certain other handicraftsmen occupy the position of degraded outcasts. Among the ancient Hebrews the trade of a weaver was closed to the high priest.<sup>6)</sup> In Germany also linen-weavers were formerly regarded as vile.<sup>7)</sup> The Singhalese impute certain mysterious propensities to their weavers which may, in a degree, account for their peculiar reputation. We read that the weavers are also astrologers.<sup>8)</sup>

Only on the ground of the mean estimation in which among most peoples handicraftsmen in general are held can we at present explain why the potter is in many cases spoken of as belonging to the despised classes. Thus among the Kands the potters are supplied by a lower race, who are degraded beneath the rest of the population and do all the dirty work.<sup>9)</sup> The Hindoos of Bengal reckon the potters unclean,<sup>10)</sup> and so do the people of Bali<sup>11)</sup> as well as the Southern Arabs.<sup>12)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

<sup>2)</sup> Hunter, *History of the Indian Peoples*, p. 48. Macpherson, 'Report upon the Khonds', in *Calcutta Review*, v. 47 sq. Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

<sup>3)</sup> Raverty, 'Siahposch', in *Globus*, viii. 342.

<sup>4)</sup> Maltzan, 'Sittenschilderungen aus Südarabien', in *Globus*, xxi. 105.

<sup>5)</sup> Barth, *Travels in North Central Africa*, iv. 147 sq.

<sup>6)</sup> Cook, Art. 'Handicrafts', in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, iv. 1955.

<sup>7)</sup> Beneke, *Von unehrlichen Leuten*, pp. 66—72. Schurtz, *Das Afrikanische Gewerbe*, p. 80.

<sup>8)</sup> Knox, *The Island of Ceylon*, p. 137.

<sup>9)</sup> Hunter, *History of the Indian Peoples*, p. 48. Macpherson, *loc. cit.* v. 47. sq.

<sup>10)</sup> Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, p. 324.

<sup>11)</sup> Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, ii. 238.

<sup>12)</sup> Maltzan, *loc. cit.*, xxi. 105.



Barbers are likewise among several peoples looked upon as unclean and treated accordingly. In India their reputation varies; while they are unclean in Bihar they are not so in Bengal.<sup>1)</sup> The Tonga barbers are of the degraded rank of the *Tooa*.<sup>2)</sup> By the ancient Germans and Hebrews barbers were regarded as vile.<sup>3)</sup> — The reason of the unfavourable reputation of the barbers seems to be that with their ordinary traffic they frequently combine all sorts of secret necromancies. Thus in ancient Germany the barbers at the same time practised quackery,<sup>4)</sup> and in some parts of India they even have certain priestly functions assigned to them.<sup>5)</sup>

A distinct type among peculiar and despised callings is represented by the griots or minstrels, professional musicians or singers who sometimes also appear as jugglers, charlatans, etc. Although their functions vary somewhat, their type is nevertheless recognizable among many peoples, especially in Northern Africa, in Arabia and India. They appear as musicians, singers and dancers at family feasts and public festivals; sometimes they are not resident in one locality, but wander from place to place where their services may be in requisition, or as beggars; sometimes they are attached to some chief or other powerful individual. In general they are recruited from both sexes. They are paid for chanting the praises of deceased great men, and they relate the tribal traditions. In mediæval Europe, also, there was a similar class of minstrels.

The griots are generally held in great contempt among all peoples, they belong to the most degraded sections of the

<sup>1)</sup> Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

<sup>2)</sup> Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, ii. 85.

<sup>3)</sup> Beneke, *Von unehrlichen Leuten*, pp. 60—66. Cook, Art. 'Handicrafts', in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, iv. 1955.

<sup>4)</sup> Beneke, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

<sup>5)</sup> Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

population and are excluded from every respectable society.<sup>1)</sup> In general they are also known to be people of very dissolute habits, devoted to the reckless use of ardent spirits and to prostitution.<sup>2)</sup> In India, as Mr. Sherring says, „all professional singing and dancing, when performed by women, with very few exceptions, is performed by prostitutes. Indeed, a prostitute and a professional dancer or singer are, in the common speech of the people, synonymous terms“.<sup>3)</sup> On account of their bad reputation they are excluded from marriage with members of other classes. No man gives his daughter to a griot, consequently they must marry among themselves only.<sup>4)</sup> It is stated, for instance, that among the Jolofs not even a slave would marry a girl of a griot family, a prejudice which is shared by some other professions also.<sup>5)</sup> The separation of the griot class is likewise the reason why their calling is generally handed down within the same family. A son of a griot cannot easily enter another profession and must therefore follow that of his father.<sup>6)</sup>

However degraded the griots may be, we see at the same time that in many cases they are greatly feared by the population and even enjoy a certain influence.<sup>7)</sup> Thus the

<sup>1)</sup> Mollien, *Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique*, i. 102, 282—284 (Jolofs and Futatoro). Reade, *Savage Africa*, pp. 455 sq. (Mandingos). Barth, *Travels in North and Central Africa*, iv. 147 sq. (Fellani). Maltzan, 'Sittenschilderungen aus Südarabien', in *Globus*, xxi. 104 sq. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, pp. 73 sq. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, pp. 325 sq. Beneke, *Von unehrlichen Leuten*, pp. 18—23 (Ancient Germans).

<sup>2)</sup> Raffinel, *Voyage dans l'Afrique Occidentale*, p. 18 (Senegambians). Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 354. Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, i. 274 sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Sherring, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

<sup>4)</sup> Raffinel, *op. cit.*, p. 15. Hecquard, *Voyage sur la Côte de l'Afrique Occidentale*, p. 89, note. Mollien, *op. cit.*, i. 284.

<sup>5)</sup> Mollien, *op. cit.*, i. 102.

<sup>6)</sup> Ratzel, *Völkerkunde*, i. 641 (Peoples of West Africa). Raffinel, *op. cit.*, p. 17 (Senegambians). Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, i. 486 (Morocco). Paulitschke, *Ethnographisches Nordost-Afrikas*, ii. 141 (Somali and Danakil). Maltzan, *loc. cit.*, xxi. 104.

<sup>7)</sup> Ratzel, *op. cit.*, i. 641 (Peoples of West Africa). Laing, *Travels in Western Africa*, p. 132 (Mandingos). Raffinel, *op. cit.*, p. 18 (Senegambians).



*Bhâts* (*Bâdi*) or bards are in certain parts of India „much dreaded by their employers on account of the power they have of distorting family history at public recitations, if they choose to do so, and of subjecting any member to general ridicule.“<sup>1)</sup> They belong to „the class of sturdy beggars who if they do not get what they expect, lampoon the people of the house and abuse them. For these reasons they are, to some extent, feared, and are able to maintain themselves at the expense of their neighbours.“<sup>2)</sup> The griots of the interior of North Africa „sont parvenus. — — à se rendre redoutable, en devenant les maîtres de l'opinion publique, par les éloges ou les satyres dont ils sont également prodigues. — — Si un de ces hommes demande un cheval ou un fusil au roi, le prince n'ose le lui refuser.“<sup>3)</sup> Another more powerful factor contributes to the awe with which the griots are generally regarded and that is the mysteriousness in which they veil themselves and the sorcery supposed to be practised by them. The jugglers of Morocco mask all their actions in a mystic-religious nimbus and generally combine their wanderings with a pilgrimage to Mecca.<sup>4)</sup> In some parts of West Africa the griots are subjected to certain restrictions as regards their conduct, which shows the popular dread of their doings. The musicians or bards of the Jolofs are not permitted to live within the walls of their towns, to keep cattle or to drink sweet milk.<sup>5)</sup> In Yemen every Arab is thought to become unclean who should carry on an intrigue with a griot woman.<sup>6)</sup> From West Africa and India we learn that griots are regarded as men versed in witchcraft and the occult sciences; they are also said to have communion with spirits and to be inspired by gods.<sup>7)</sup> Among several peoples the

<sup>1)</sup> Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, i. 272.

<sup>2)</sup> Crooke, *Tribes and Castes*, ii. 333.

<sup>3)</sup> Mollien, *Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique*, i. 283.

<sup>4)</sup> Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, i. 486 sq.

<sup>5)</sup> Wilson, *Western Africa*, p. 73.

<sup>6)</sup> Maltzan, 'Sittenschilderungen aus Südarabien', in *Globus*, xxi. 104.

<sup>7)</sup> Raffanel, *Voyage dans l'Afrique Occidentale*, pp. 18, 19 (Senegambians). Hecquard, *Voyage sur la Côte de l'Afrique Occidentale*, p. 89 note. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, pp. 73 sq.

griots, in consequence of this superstitious dread, are not after death interred in the ordinary way, but are buried with the observance of certain precautionary measures. The Mandingos believe that if the griots „were buried in the ground, it would become barren; if in the river, the water would be poisoned, and the fish would die. So they are buried in hollow trees.“<sup>1)</sup> Jolof musicians or bards are similarly „refused interment, on the allegation that nothing would grow where one of their caste has been buried.“<sup>2)</sup> „C'est dans le creux d'un arbre que l'on dépose leurs cadavres“, M. Mollien writes respecting the griots of the same people, „car on est persuadé que si l'on enterrait un griot, la récolte du mil manquerait infailliblement.“<sup>3)</sup> In Senegambia, also, the bodies of griots „empoisonneraient les grains et les fruits — — et ils empoisonnerait également l'eau et les rivières; alors ils ne sont ni enterrés ni jetés dans la mer ou les rivières.“<sup>4)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Reade, *Savage Africa*, p. 456.

<sup>2)</sup> Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

<sup>3)</sup> Mollien, *Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique*, i. 102.

<sup>4)</sup> Raffenel, *Voyage dans l'Afrique Occidentale*, p. 19.



## CHAPTER V.

*Social Differentiation as influenced by the Development of Trades (concluded).*

The perhaps most noteworthy idiosyncracies among all crafts in primitive culture are those presented by the smiths. Their peculiar position among almost all peoples has naturally called for attention in theoretical literature. It has been remarked how smiths on the one hand constitute a despised and dreaded pariah caste, while on the other hand they are almost as often the objects of a certain superstitious awe and respect. Even among the same people these two opposite conceptions of the smith can be intermingled. But wherever almost the profession of a smith is met with among uncivilized or half-civilized races as an original art, peculiar ideas are associated with those who practise it.

From different parts of Africa, from Arabia and India we learn that blacksmiths are profoundly despised and that their trade is followed only by degraded helot classes.<sup>1)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Cf., for instance, Mollien, *Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique* i. 102. (Jolofs). Reade, *Savage Africa*, p. 455; Caillié, *Travels to Timbuctoo*, i. 105 (Senegambians). Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, i. 443 sq.; ii. 145, 178, 370; Rohlf's, *Quer durch Africa*, i. 258 sq.; Chavanne, *Sahara*, p. 528 (Teda). Harnier, 'Reise auf dem Weissen Nil', in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsband, ii. 133 (Bari). Zöppritsch, 'Pruyssenae's Reisen', *ib.*, Ergänzungsband, xi. 25 (Denqa). Dufton, *Abyssinia*, pp. 165, 169. (Jews of Abyssinia). Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, i. 31; Hildebrand, 'Bemerkungen über die Sómäl', in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vii. 4; Haggenmacher, 'Reise in Somali-Lande', in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsband x. 25 sq.; 35; Burton, *First Footsteps*, p. 33, note (Somali). Johnston, *Kalima-Njaro Expedition*, p. 402 (Masai). Maltzan, 'Sittenschilderungen aus Südarabien', in *Globus*, xxi.

Very generally we see also that a certain mystery surrounds blacksmiths and their trade, and the contempt felt for them is in consequence mixed with fear. The blacksmiths are, or were, credited with supernatural attributes among most peoples who are acquainted with the use of iron. One is careful not to offend a smith, one fears to encounter him in a lonely place, and the smithy is a haunt of necromancy.<sup>1)</sup> In many parts of Africa smiths are looked upon as „wise persons“,<sup>2)</sup> and the same was also frequently the case in regard to them in many places in Europe.<sup>3)</sup> Thus the runes of the ancient Finns always confer on the mythical smith Ilmarinen the epithet *seppä* or *seppo*, which according to Castrén not only signifies smith, but also a master in general.<sup>4)</sup> Similarly *ponde*, the word for a blacksmith in the Malay and Javanese languages, means also learned and skilful.<sup>5)</sup>

Especially we gather that in many cases smiths are employed as physicians both for men and beasts. If, among the Teda, their doctor or priest knows no cure, recourse is had to the weapon burnisher.<sup>6)</sup> In Accra, on the Gold Coast, the blacksmith's forge is a place where thieves are detected and wounds are healed.<sup>7)</sup> Horse-shoers as well as ordinary blacksmiths were formerly in many parts of Europe known as wonder-doctors for people and cattle.<sup>8)</sup> — Sometimes smiths even exercise priestly functions. Thus, among the Fans, the

105. Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, i. 322. Nesfield, *Caste System of the North-Western Provinces*, p. 29. Macpherson, 'Report upon the Khonds', in *Calcutta Review*, v. 47 sq. 'Aus Nepál and Tibet', in *Ausland*, xlix. 93 (Nepaleans). Raverty, 'Siahposch', in *Globus*, vii. 342 (Kafirs of Kafiristan).

<sup>1)</sup> Lawrance, *The Magic of the Horse-shoe*, pp. 40—53. Wake, 'Race Elements of the Madecasses', in *Jour. Arthr. Inst.* viii. p. xxxviii (Tribes of Africa and Madagascar). Dufton, *Abyssinia*, pp. 165, 169. Burton, *Wanderings in West Africa*, ii. 167 (Tribes of the Gold Coast).

<sup>2)</sup> Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, i. 444.

<sup>3)</sup> Beck, *Geschichte des Eisens*, i. 879. Wuttke, *Deutsche Volksaberglaube*, p. 148.

<sup>4)</sup> Castrén, *Nordiska resor och forskningar*, iii. 286.

<sup>5)</sup> Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, i. 189.

<sup>6)</sup> Rohlf's, *Quer durch Africa*, i. 258; *id.*, 'Reise von Tripoli nach Kuka', in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsband, v. 30.

<sup>7)</sup> Burton, *Wanderings in West Africa*, ii. 167.

<sup>8)</sup> Beck, *op. cit.*, i. 879. Wuttke, *op. cit.*, p. 148.



village blacksmith is at the same time a priest or medicine-man.<sup>1)</sup> Among the Indian Cohatars there were smiths who exhibited their art in the temple of their god in order to propitiate his kindly influence for the ensuing years, and they had set up a forge and furnace in the temple.<sup>2)</sup>

The extraordinary respect and the high rank which among many peoples are accorded to smiths may be accounted for by their skill, their supposed great knowledge and their supernatural connections. We learn that the Mandingo blacksmiths stand high in the scale of society and are possessed of great privileges.<sup>3)</sup> By the Guinea tribes and the Fan the smiths are universally respected and treated with the utmost deference by all ranks.<sup>4)</sup> Among the Fellani and Haussa, who accord the smiths great consideration, their chief master occupies one of the highest posts at the court. (The Tebu of the same country regard the smiths with great contempt.<sup>5)</sup> All over the Tawārek country an *énhad* or smith is generally the „prime minister“ of every little chief.<sup>6)</sup> Among the Tuareg the smiths rank with the nobles.<sup>7)</sup> The Cohatars of the Neilgherry Hills consider the smiths their principal artizans and they rank high among them.<sup>8)</sup> In Java the smiths were particularly honoured and occupied a high rank „for they were considered rather as a privileged order than as artizans“, and they were largely endowed with lands.<sup>9)</sup> Among the Kalmuks of Altai also the smiths enjoyed a high repute.<sup>10)</sup>

The renown of the blacksmiths as regards their supernatural attributes goes back to the very beginning of their history. Several peoples have preserved traditions that the

<sup>1)</sup> Lenz, 'Fan', in *Deutsche Geographische Blätter*, i. 76.

<sup>2)</sup> Harkness, *A Singular Race of the Neilgherry Hills*, p. 77.

<sup>3)</sup> Laing, *Travels in Western Africa*, p. 132.

<sup>4)</sup> Lander, *Clapperton's Last Expedition*, i. 306. Lenz, *loc. cit.*, i. 76.

<sup>5)</sup> Rohlf, *Quer durch Africa*, ii. 156.

<sup>6)</sup> Barth, *Travels in North and Central Africa*, i. 373.

<sup>7)</sup> Chavanne, *Sahara*, p. 202.

<sup>8)</sup> Harkness, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

<sup>9)</sup> Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, i. 188. Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 192.

<sup>10)</sup> Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, i. 293 sq.

smiths originally acquired their wondrous skill through the assistance of divine beings and hence were exalted above the plane of ordinary mortals.<sup>1)</sup> Certain legends of the Buryats, for instance, tell us the origin of the blacksmith's art; in all of them it is said that gods or sons of gods were the first who smelted iron and constructed a forge.<sup>2)</sup> German traditions frequently make mention of invisible smiths, dwarfs and other mysterious beings who wrought in iron.<sup>3)</sup>

Traditions of several peoples recount that already in the oldest times the smiths resorted to secret necromancies in carrying on their art. According to a mythical legend the Idaei Dactyli were the first who discovered the nature of iron and taught the manner of working it. They are considered to have lived in Phrygia about Mount Ida and to have been conjurers and magicians. „And because they were the first discoverers of many things of great use and advantage to mankind, they were adored and worshipped as gods.“<sup>4)</sup> Wayland the smith and Volund in Teutonic and Scandinavian folklore carried on their wonderful operations by means of supernatural powers, and so did Ilmarinen, the great blacksmith of Kalewala. In Kalewipoeg, the ancient national epos of the Esthonians, there is a detailed description of the forging of a famous sword at which spells and other secret arts were used to ensure the glory of the weapon.<sup>5)</sup> — Over the whole of Europe in the Middle Ages it was commonly believed that the armourers could work sorcery

<sup>1)</sup> Dr. Lawrence gives a number of such instances in *The Magic of the Horse-Shoe*, pp. 40—55.

<sup>2)</sup> Агапитовъ and Хангаловъ, 'Шаманство у Бурятъ', in *Изв. В. С. Омд. Геогр. Общ.* xiv. 2, note; 8. Шашковъ, 'Шаманство', in *Зап. Пнн. Русск. Геогр. Общ.* ii. 46.

<sup>3)</sup> Kuhn, *Sagen aus Westfalen*, i. 41, 46 sq., 62—288.

<sup>4)</sup> Diodorus Siculus, b. x. ch. 4. (Historical Library, p. 204). *The Geography of Strabo*, b. x. ch. 3. § 22. The Dactyli are mentioned in the Phoronide, a fragment of a poem dating from an age hardly less ancient than that of Homer and Hesiod. A French translation of it is given by M. Bertrand ('L'Introduction des Métaux en Occident', in *Revue d'Ethnographie*, ii. 247) and M. Rossignol (*Les Métaux dans l'Antiquité*, p. 16).

<sup>5)</sup> *Kalewipoeg*, vi. 168—172, 399—410.



into a sword while forging it, so that it should always be victorious. But even other kinds of smiths could introduce sorcery into iron. For this reason in certain parts smiths' apprentices who aspired to become masters were obliged to take a special oath never to use the black art. Even long after the time of the Middle Ages the belief was widespread that smiths were able to work spells.<sup>1)</sup>

A conception such as this, which has not even yet entirely died out in all parts of Europe,<sup>2)</sup> is current among several uncivilized peoples. It is generally believed that smiths have access to supernatural forces, and they are consequently employed as wizards. Teda blacksmiths for instance are credited with the knowledge of charmed drinks and other black arts.<sup>3)</sup> The Somali fear the magical practices of their blacksmiths.<sup>4)</sup> In Abyssinia the credulous people hold a blacksmith and worker in iron to be endowed with supernatural powers, and to be able to transform himself at pleasure into the likeness of a wolf or a hyena.<sup>5)</sup> Among the Jakuts an evil spirit is the patron of the smiths and to him the smiths offer a cow of a red colour and smear their tools with its blood, but the heart and the liver are roasted in the fire and afterwards hammered on the anvil until nothing remains of them.<sup>6)</sup> In the ancient superstition of the Buryats the smiths played an important part, standing in close connection with the shamans.<sup>7)</sup> — Among the Teda the reputation of the smiths for supernatural powers has extended to their wives also, who are consulted by the people as oracles.<sup>8)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Beck, *Geschichte des Eisens*, i. 847 sq., 883.

<sup>2)</sup> Cf. Beck, *op. cit.*, i. 879.

<sup>3)</sup> Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, i. 443. Chavanne, *Sahara*, p. 528.

<sup>4)</sup> Burton, *First Footsteps*, pp. 33, note.

<sup>5)</sup> Harris, *Highlands of Aethiopia*, ii. 295. Cf. Dufton, *Abyssinia*, pp. 165, 169.

<sup>6)</sup> Припузовъ, 'Шаманство у Якутовъ', in *Извѣстія В. С. Омд. Геогр. Общ.* xv. 62.

<sup>7)</sup> Агашиновъ and Хангаловъ, 'Шаманство у Бурятъ', *ib.*, xiv. 8.

<sup>8)</sup> Rohlfs, *Quer durch Africa*, i. 258; *id.*, 'Reise von Tripoli nach Kuka', in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsband, v. 30. Chavanne, *Sahara*, p. 528.

Man fears all that, like sorcery, is shrouded in a veil of mystery. Similarly as with other practisers of the black art the smith is among many peoples regarded as an unclean being, from whose vicinity one flees in order not to be contaminated. No free Somali, for instance, enters the house of a blacksmith or shakes hands with him. <sup>1)</sup> „If a Masai takes in his hand a spear or sword or any other thing which a smith has held, he first of all oils his hand, for it is considered improper for him to take it in his bare hand.“ <sup>2)</sup> A Teda does not eat from the same vessel as a smith or sleep under his roof. <sup>3)</sup> The Kands could not engage in the work of a blacksmith without degradation, nor eat food prepared by his hands. <sup>4)</sup> In Yemen blacksmiths are deemed unclean, together with certain other artizans, <sup>5)</sup> and while in Bengal they are clean, they are not so in Bihar. <sup>6)</sup> — From Doreh in New Guinea we learn that a smith's apprentice has to take a certain magic potion, without which he cannot become a skilful artizan; he is also forbidden to taste swine's flesh. <sup>7)</sup> — The uncleanness attributed to blacksmiths is evidently also the reason why the mere word „smith“, as for instance among the Teda, is regarded as a term of abuse, possibly also as a spell. To call a Teda a smith is an infamy which only can be washed away in blood. <sup>8)</sup>

The superstitious awe entertained for smiths as unclean and dangerous beings is also revealed by the fact that their persons are occasionally regarded as inviolable. Among the Teda, notwithstanding the contempt in which smiths are held, should anyone allow himself to insult a member of that

<sup>1)</sup> Haggenmacher, 'Reise im Somali-Lande', in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsband, x. 25 sq.

<sup>2)</sup> Mollis, *The Masai*, p. 330.

<sup>3)</sup> Rohlfs, *Quer durch Africa*, i. 258 sq; *id.*, 'Reise von Tripoli nach Kuka', in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsband, v. 30.

<sup>4)</sup> Hunter, *History of the Indian Peoples*, p. 48.

<sup>5)</sup> Maltzan, 'Sittenschilderungen aus Südarabien', in *Globus*, xxi. 105.

<sup>6)</sup> Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, p. 324.

<sup>7)</sup> Finsch, *Neu-Guinea*, p. 113.

<sup>8)</sup> Chavaune. *Sahara*, p. 528. Rohlfs, *Quer durch Africa*, i. 259; *id.*, 'Reise von Tripoli nach Kuka', in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsband, v. 30.



fraternity, still less to strike or kill him, such an act would be reckoned unworthy and even culpable, as if directed against a woman.<sup>1)</sup>

One consequence of the sinister attributes charged upon smiths is that they stand almost outside the pale of the community, debarred from communion with other people.<sup>2)</sup> In many cases the blacksmiths may only live in the outskirts of the villages.<sup>3)</sup> They may contract marriages within their own families only, as no one outside them would give his daughter in marriage to a smith or himself marry a smith's daughter.<sup>4)</sup>

Owing to their isolated position we find it natural that the smiths, as is the case among numerous peoples, constitute a professional class of their own. Very generally also their office is strictly hereditary within the same families.<sup>5)</sup> Sometimes, as among the Sotho,<sup>6)</sup> the New Guineans<sup>7)</sup> and the Basuto,<sup>8)</sup> the aspirant to the mysteries of their art must pass through a process of initiation.

Numerous authors have endeavoured to give an explanation of the peculiar position of the smiths. Some place

<sup>1)</sup> Chavanne, *Sahara*, p. 528. Rohlfs, *Quer durch Africa*, i. 258.

<sup>2)</sup> Chavanne, *op. cit.*, p. 528. Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, p. 444. Rohlfs, 'Reise von Tripoli nach Kuka', in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsband, v. 30 (Teda).

<sup>3)</sup> Büttikofer, 'Eingeborenen von Liberia', in *Intern. Archiv für Ethnographie*, i. 80. Burton, *First Footsteps*, p. 33, note (Somali). Zöpplitz, 'Pruysenaere's Reisen', in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsband, xi. 25 (Denqa). Beck, *Geschichte des Eisens*, i. 879.

<sup>4)</sup> Mollien, *Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique*, i. 102, 284 (Joiofs, Futatoro). Hollis, *The Masai*, pp. 330 sq. Hagenmacher, 'Reise im Somali-Lande', in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsband, x. 26; Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 33, note (Somali). Chavanne, *op. cit.*, p. 528; Rohlfs, *Quer durch Africa*, i. 259; Nachtigal, *op. cit.*, i. 444 (Teda).

<sup>5)</sup> Casati, *Dieci Anni in Ekuatoria*, i. 207 (Manbettu). Chavanne, *op. cit.*, p. 528; Nachtigal, *op. cit.*, i. 443 sq. (Teda). Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, ii. 141 (Somali and Danakil). Hunter, *History of the Indian Peoples*, p. 48 (Kands).

<sup>6)</sup> Endemann, 'Die Sotho-Neger', in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vi. 25.

<sup>7)</sup> Finsch, *Neu-Guinea*, p. 113.

<sup>8)</sup> Wake, 'Race Elements of the Madecasses', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* viii. p. xxxviii.

the superstitious reverence for them in connection with the wonder which in an undeveloped mind must be excited by the process of forging itself. Thus Professor Schrader says: Even as the extraordinary art which understands to melt the hard metal in the fire, and to fabricate costly articles thereof, has been attributed to supernatural agencies, so it has not either been possible to conceive of the exercise of this art by merely mortal creatures without the aid of mysterious spells.<sup>1)</sup> In speaking of the Idæi Dactyli, who are said to have introduced the art of forging iron into Europe, M. Rossignol says: „On les appela *magiciens*, enchanteurs, et ce nom s'explique sans peine. Que l'on se représente, en effet, l'étonnement des premiers hommes, quand ils virent la terre ordinaire se transformer sous les *doigts* des premiers métallurgistes en une substance solide, brillante et sonore, et l'on concevra qu'ils aient supposé dans cet art quelque vertu surnaturelle.“<sup>2)</sup> In similar terms Professor Hoeck also speaks of the supernatural qualities attributed to the Dactyli.<sup>3)</sup>

Other theoretical writers contend that the position occupied by the smiths is due to the fact that they belong to a different race than the great mass of their people. Professor Lippert considers that smiths, in regard to the nature of their avocation, are more than other handicraftsmen bound to certain places where they can obtain the necessary raw material, whereas the rest of the population can easily change their place of abode. Thus it comes about, he says, that smiths among many peoples represent a primitive conservative element, that they constitute a living memorial of ancient times, of other races and other religions than those of the people in general, and the worship of their strange gods has for generations been associated with the mysterious smithy. The contempt for these strangers has on the part of the conquerors been converted into hatred, admiration of their skill into holy reverence, or mistrust of their gods into superstitious dread.<sup>4)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, p. 236.

<sup>2)</sup> Rossignol, *Les Métaux dans l'Antiquité*, p. 33.

<sup>3)</sup> Hoeck. *Kreta*, i. 305 sq.

<sup>4)</sup> Lippert, *Kulturgeschichte*, ii. 216; *id.*, *Geschichte des Priesterthums*,



While differing from Professor Lippert on certain points, Professor Richard Andrée agrees with him in attributing the peculiar position of the smiths to their descent from a different tribe to that of the rest of the population. His theory is this: When a savage people, without any knowledge of farriery, had acquired by conquest a new territory, and found therein blacksmiths plying their vocation, they naturally regarded these artizans with wonder not unmixed with fear. On account of their obvious usefulness they were allowed however to continue to exercise their handicraft, although they were despised and looked upon as sorcerers. On the other hand, if an inferior people had learnt the art of manufacturing iron from one of higher standing, the smiths were regarded with special respect and reverence by the subjugated race.<sup>1)</sup> With Professor Andrée Professor Schurtz and Mr. Lawrence agree in part.<sup>2)</sup> Professor Schurtz however is of opinion that the contempt felt for smiths must also be referred to the work itself. The reason is repugnance to any kind of heavy and methodical manual labour; to the children of nature all work is held as a rule in low esteem. Only those do hard work who are obliged to — workman and „poor devil“ are almost synonymous terms. Thus the sinking of handicraftsmen as a class is inevitable.<sup>3)</sup> Certain other writers record various traditions and suggestions to explain the prejudice against blacksmiths.<sup>4)</sup>

In considering the above-cited theoretical explanations we find facts contradictory at least to the universal validity

<sup>1)</sup> Andrée, *Ethnographische Parellelen*, i. 155.

<sup>2)</sup> Lawrence, *The Magic of the Horse-shoe*, p. 53.

<sup>3)</sup> Schurtz, *Das Afrikanische Gewerbe*, p. 78.

<sup>4)</sup> Nachtigal mentions certain legends of the Mohammedan Negroes, according to which a smith a long time ago through offence and treachery to the Prophet branded his whole class with infamy (*Sahara und Sudan*, i. 444). Strabo in his *Geography* suggests that mining and certain other occupations had relation to the gods, who were thought to be coursing over the mountains (b. x. ch. 3 § 23). And with reference to the Hindoos of the North Western Provinces, among whom the blacksmiths occupied a far inferior position to the other metallurgic castes, viz., those of the braziers and goldsmiths, Mr. Nesfield supposes the reason to be the evil association which Hinduism has attached to the colour of black (*Caste System of the North-Western Provinces*, p. 29).

of Professor Lippert's theory that the smiths constitute a permanently resident ancient folk-element in those parts where iron is found, while the rest of the population has shifted. Thus we gather for instance from the Bari on the White Nile that the despised smiths wander about from one place to another with their families and make their abode wherever they can find work.<sup>1)</sup> Neither are they bound to places where ore is obtained; the Denqa blacksmiths, for instance, also located in the vicinity of the White Nile, fetch iron from tribes in the interior of the country or get it for themselves from places at some distance from the river.<sup>2)</sup> — In other instances the smiths are stated to be of the same tribe as the people among whom they live. Among the Teda, for example, the smiths are not in any way distinct from the rest of the population, and although they are greatly despised, there exists no doubt on either side as to their being of the same extraction.<sup>3)</sup>

On the other hand smiths as a matter of fact appear in several instances to belong to another tribe than those surrounding them, although informations on this head are often very ambiguous. Almost all the blacksmiths of the Peuhls in Futa-Diallon are said to be prisoners from other parts which is stated to be the case with their other artizans also.<sup>4)</sup> The Elkonono are a helot tribe of smiths kept in servitude to the Masai. They speak Masai, though they seem to have also a language of their own.<sup>5)</sup> The same tribe is said to be kept in a state of subjection under the Wakuafi, for whom they make spears, swords and knives; they are thought to be the remnant of an ancient powerful people.<sup>6)</sup> Another tribe, the Tumulod, who serve as blacksmiths, are tributaries to the

<sup>1)</sup> Harnier, 'Reise auf dem Weissen Nil', in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsband, ii. 133.

<sup>2)</sup> Zöppritz, *Pruyssenae's Reisen*, *ib.*, xi. 25.

<sup>3)</sup> Rohlf, *Quer durch Africa*, i. 258 sq., *id.*, 'Reise von Tripoli nach Kuka', in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsband, v. 30. Chavanne *Sahara*, p. 528.

<sup>4)</sup> Hecquard, *Voyage sur la Côte de l'Afrique Occidentale*, p. 336

<sup>5)</sup> Thomson, *Masai Land*, p. 248. Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 834; *id.*, *Kilima-Njaro Expedition*, p. 402. Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 331.

<sup>6)</sup> Von der Decken, *Reisen in Ost-Afrika*, ii. 24.



Somali and stand under their jurisdiction.<sup>1)</sup> In Abyssinia, round the lake Tsana, there are numerous blacksmiths of Jewish extraction,<sup>2)</sup> and in Arabia the *sunna* or smith's caste are not accounted of indigenous blood, their lineage being perhaps alien.<sup>3)</sup> The Kands of India only engage in husbandry and war, but attached to each of their villages is a row of hovels inhabited by a lower race, who do all the dirty work and supply families of hereditary blacksmiths, weavers and other handicrafts.<sup>4)</sup>

While seeking a reason for the contempt and fear with which smiths are regarded, we must remember that there are also other callings which are looked upon in the same way. In the last chapter we have recorded a good many facts which corroborate the statement of Professor Schurtz, that hard work is despised and that everyone avoids it if possible, for which reason it devolves upon the dependent poor.<sup>5)</sup> With regard to the smiths among the Somali and Bari, for instance, it is explicitly stated that they are despised because they do hard work.<sup>6)</sup> We also believe that the reputation of the smiths as wizards may be easily accounted for. As we have seen, some of the callings previously treated of by us have also been stigmatized as unclean or as allied to sorcery. Already in their outward appearance the smoke-begrimed, unkempt blacksmiths have an attribute which gives the impression of something mysterious. Burton even says that „in Abyssinia all artizans are *Budah*, sorcerers, especially the blacksmiths.“<sup>7)</sup> In this respect we can also agree with previously cited authors that the very calling of the smiths, the use made of fire, the singular art of fusing a hard metal, the forge and its mysteriousness, are with these children of nature calculated to call all sorts of fantasies to life.

<sup>1)</sup> Haggenmacher, 'Reise im Somali-Land', in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsband, x. 25.

<sup>2)</sup> Dufton, *Abyssinia*, p. 165.

<sup>3)</sup> Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, ii. 656.

<sup>4)</sup> Hunter, *History of the Indian Peoples*, p. 48.

<sup>5)</sup> Cf. Schurtz, *Das afrikanische Gewerbe*, p. 78.

<sup>6)</sup> Haggenmacher, *loc. cit.*, x. 25. Harnier, *Reise auf dem Weissen Nil*, *ib.*, ii. 133.

<sup>7)</sup> Burton, *First Footsteps*, p. 33, note.

And finally we have to pay attention to the fact that the metal wrought by the smith — iron — is universally connected with all kinds of magical ideas. Several authors have collected examples showing the mystical significance which many peoples attribute to iron.<sup>1)</sup> Steel has in this respect the same property as iron. Rust itself is sometimes employed for magical purposes.<sup>2)</sup> The very name of iron has in certain cases a magic power.<sup>3)</sup> Very generally iron is used as a protective charm against witchcraft and similar malign influences. It also averts the evil eye.<sup>4)</sup> Evil spirits, ghosts, witches, giants, gnomes, fairies, elves and dragons are kept at bay by iron, which destroys their power.<sup>5)</sup>

When witches transform themselves into animals — wolves, hares or magpies<sup>6)</sup> — or to the whirlwind when they fly through the air,<sup>7)</sup> such enchantment cannot be maintained if one brings them into contact with iron or steel. Of iron objects horse-shoes are throughout a large portion of the world known as anti-witch charms *par excellence* as well as the approved symbols of good luck.<sup>8)</sup> A sacred lump of iron forms part of the regalia of several of the petty Sultans in the Malay peninsula, and the Malays are said to entertain for it a most

<sup>1)</sup> Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, i. 140. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, i. 344 — 346; 348—350. Lawrence, *Magic of the Horse-shoe*, pp. 26—40. Wilson, *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, ii. 126.

<sup>2)</sup> Cf. Plinius, *Naturalis Historiae Libri*, lib. xxxiv. cap. xv. sect. 45.

<sup>3)</sup> Tylor, *op. cit.*, i. 140. *Thousand and one Nights*, i. 34.

<sup>4)</sup> Nesfield, *Caste System of the North-Western Provinces*, p. 29.

<sup>5)</sup> Tylor, *op. cit.*, i. 140. Wuttke, *Deutsche Volksaberglaube*, pp. 45, 282 sq. Frischbier, *Hexenspruch und Zauberbann*, pp. 11, 13. Faye, *Norske Folkesagn*, pp. 24 sq. Thiele, *Danmarks Folkesagn*, ii. 142 sq., 155 sq. *Thousand and one Nights*, i. 34, 35. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes*, ii. 138. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 274.

<sup>6)</sup> Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, iii. 467. Kuhn *Sagen aus Westfalen*, ii. 31.

<sup>7)</sup> *Thousand and one Nights*, i. 34. Ralston, *The Songs of the Russian People*, pp. 381 sq. Krauss, *Volks Glaube der Südslaven*, p. 117. Grimm, *op. cit.*, iii. 453.

<sup>8)</sup> Tylor, *op. cit.*, i. 140. Lawrence, *op. cit.*, pp. 1—140. Beck, *Geschichte des Eisens*, i. 879.



extraordinary reverence not unmixed with superstitious terror.<sup>1)</sup>

Iron is specially employed as a means of protection for individuals who for divers reasons are not considered to have sufficient power of resistance to evil influences. Infants are thus protected by means of iron,<sup>2)</sup> and the same is the case with sick persons.<sup>3)</sup> Rust is sometimes used as a remedial substance; Plinius says it is usually obtained for such purposes by scraping old nails with a piece of moistened iron.<sup>4)</sup> Wounds and bleeding are healed by means of iron.<sup>5)</sup> Menstruous women who are particularly exposed to the evil of witchcraft trust to iron or steel as a charm.<sup>6)</sup> Anyone going out into the dark takes a piece of steel with him as a protection.<sup>7)</sup> And as a person is thought to be specially exposed to magical dangers while eating and drinking, he is protected from them by iron.<sup>8)</sup> Scissors are by the Malays used to scare evil spirits from the dead.<sup>9)</sup> Among the Eskimo broken spear-heads, etc., were worn by young girls as charms for the preservation of their chastity, while the same ornaments caused the married women to be prolific.<sup>10)</sup>

Animals are on various occasions protected by the instrumentality of iron against evil things; for this purpose pieces of iron are placed at the doors of the stables or in the mangers, the animals are made to pass over iron, etc.<sup>11)</sup> Iron is even

<sup>1)</sup> Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 273. Cf., also, Stewart 'Notes on Northern Cachar', in *Jour. As. Soc.* xxiv. 644.

<sup>2)</sup> Wuttke, *Deutsche Volksaberglaube*, pp. 282, 382, 387. Fritschbier, *Hexenspruch und Zauberbann*, p. 10. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 274.

<sup>3)</sup> Plinius, *Naturalis Historiae Libri*, lib. xxxiv. cap. xv. sect. 44. Wuttke' *op. cit.*, pp. 95, 350 sq., 357. Skeat, *op. cit.*, pp. 454—456.

<sup>4)</sup> Plinius, *op. cit.*, lib. xxxiy. cap. xv. sect. 45.

<sup>5)</sup> Wuttke, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

<sup>6)</sup> *Ib.*, p. 378. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, p. 321.

<sup>7)</sup> Wuttke, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

<sup>8)</sup> Skeat, *op. cit.*, pp. 274, 338.

<sup>9)</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 274, 398.

<sup>10)</sup> Lyon, *Private Journal*, p. 368.

<sup>11)</sup> Wuttke, *op. cit.*, pp. 68, 439, 440, 442. Liebrecht, *op. cit.*, p. 311. Kuhn, *Sagen aus Westfalen*, ii. 154. Krauss, *Volks Glaube der Südslaven*, p. 126.

said to be used by the Malays to protect the Rice-spirit from evil.<sup>1)</sup> It likewise gives a man power over birds,<sup>2)</sup> as well as over the weather, over hail, lightning, etc.<sup>3)</sup>

Iron also plays a prominent part at the performance of certain rites. Among some tribes of Borneo at the ceremony of giving a skull to a friend, a piece of iron is taken, an old parangblad, or a spearhead, or anything made of *iron*, the head and wings of a chicken are torn off with the iron, and the hand of the owner of the skull is smeared with the bloody weapon. This ceremony has for object the prevention of harm coming to the original owner.<sup>4)</sup> In certain Malay tribes, among whom a lump of iron forms part of the regalia, the most solemn and binding oath is sworn upon that lump when placed in water, and to the same lump the Malay wizards refer when they recite their most terrible denunciations.<sup>5)</sup>

In other cases iron, on account of its magical properties, must not come in contact with any sacred object or be used for any religious purpose. Thus Solomon's temple „was built of stone made ready before it was brought thither: so that there was neither hammer nor any tool of iron heard in the house, while it was in building.“<sup>6)</sup> In Exodus we read: „And if thou wilt make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stone: for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it.“<sup>7)</sup> In ancient Rome iron was not allowed to be brought into contact with sacred persons or things,<sup>8)</sup> various signs point out that articles of bronze were used at divine service.<sup>9)</sup> The wife of the priest of Jove on certain occasions was not allowed to pare her nails with a knife.<sup>10)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Skeat, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

<sup>2)</sup> *Thousand and one Nights*, p. i. 35.

<sup>3)</sup> Wuttke, *op. cit.*, pp. 95, 302 sq. *Thousand and one Nights*, i. 35.

<sup>4)</sup> Haddon, *Head-Hunters*, pp. 395 sq.

<sup>5)</sup> Skeat, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

<sup>6)</sup> *First Book of Kings*, 6; 7.

<sup>7)</sup> *Exodus*, 20; 25.

<sup>8)</sup> Bréal, 'Trois Inscriptions Italiques', *Revue Archéologique*, N. S. xxxii. 242.

<sup>9)</sup> Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, lib. v. cap. ix. 11.

<sup>10)</sup> Ovidius, *Fasti*, lib. vi. 226—232.



According to Carminius the Etruscans used a bronze plough-share in laying the foundations of a city, and the Sabines employed a blade of bronze to cut the hair of the priests.<sup>1)</sup> Several other instances to the same effect are quoted by M. Bréal.<sup>2)</sup> In the ritual of the Arval brothers several purificatory sacrifices occur when for some reason or other they had been obliged to use iron in connection with their sacred objects.<sup>3)</sup> In certain cases of sorcery also iron must not be used. In the cure of certain diseases the sick person must not be touched with anything made of iron,<sup>4)</sup> and in digging up magic plants iron implements must occasionally not be used.<sup>5)</sup>

The reason why iron is considered to possess mysterious properties which render it serviceable as a charm has in general been referred to the fact that, according to popular belief, spirits and similar agencies belonging to a remote antiquity have an aversion to this metal as being comparatively new. „This superstitious objection to iron“, Dr. Frazer writes, „perhaps dates from that early time in the history of society when iron was still a novelty, and as such was viewed by many with suspicion and dislike. For everything new is apt to excite the awe and dread of the savage.“<sup>6)</sup> A similar opinion has been expressed by Dr. Tylor,<sup>7)</sup> M. Bréal,<sup>8)</sup> and Dr. Wuttke<sup>9)</sup> in reference to certain particular peoples. — We are of opinion that the awe with which iron is regarded is also to be connected with the impression of wonder which its properties must excite, especially in undeveloped minds. People believe that in iron dwell mystical powers, which they may make use of together with the iron.

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<sup>1)</sup> Bréal, *loc. cit.*, xxxii. 243.

<sup>2)</sup> *Ib.*, xxxii. 242 sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, 128—135. Bréal, *loc. cit.*, xxxii. 242

<sup>4)</sup> Wuttke, *Deutsche Volksaberglaube*, p. 349.

<sup>5)</sup> Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, ii. 1001.

<sup>6)</sup> Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, i. 346 sq.

<sup>7)</sup> Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, i. 140.

<sup>8)</sup> Bréal, *loc. cit.*, N. S. xxxii. 243.

<sup>9)</sup> Wuttke, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

Thus, according to our opinion, the idea of the magical properties of iron has undoubtedly influenced the conception formed of the workers in this metal. The smiths' reputation of being on intimate terms with supernatural forces affords also the explanation why in certain cases they are despised and in others enjoy esteem. They are despised as handicraftsmen of low standing who occupy themselves with forbidden arts, but the fear which their mysterious power at the same time inspires can in certain cases rise to respect and awe, thus elevating them to an influential and dominating rank.



## CHAPTER VI.

*Social Inequality Caused by the Amalgamation of Tribes.*

In the foregoing chapters we have in the main examined intratribal causes of the rise of social inequality. During a longer or shorter process of development a social differentiation has come to pass in the various communities between different grades of the population, and as we have seen, this has been brought about by very dissimilar agencies. It remains to treat of the extratribal causes of the rise of classes, viz., the amalgamation of different peoples, proximately through conquest. When one tribe is subjugated by another and is fused with the latter into a common people this does not usually take place upon equal conditions, but the conquering tribe forms as a rule the higher classes in the general community, the conquered tribe the lower classes.

Numerous peoples in different parts of the world where the institution of classes exists afford us an example of how social differentiation stands in connection with the bringing together of different ethnical elements. Such examples we obtain especially from Africa. In South-Central Africa the Makololo are spread over the country possessed by them as the lords of the land. The rest of the inhabitants are subject to them and must render certain services and aid in tilling the soil. This species of servitude is, according to Livingstone, the consequence of a subjugation by force of arms.<sup>1)</sup> The Bechuanas „possess servants, or more properly slaves, belonging to the Makalahari race, sometimes termed the Bakalahari,

<sup>1)</sup> Livingstone, *Missionary Travels in South Africa*, p. 186.

who formerly owned the territory between the Zambesi and the Orange River.“<sup>1)</sup> In Western Uganda and adjoining countries the Bahima who are of alien origin dominate as an aristocracy the aboriginal Bantu population. At the present time they speak, with a marked accent of their own, the Bantu language of the country.<sup>2)</sup> The Tigré, who are the lowest class among the Bogos, consist to a great extent of the original inhabitants of the country who were subjugated by the Bogos on their invasion.<sup>3)</sup> The nobility in Abyssinia is said to have come into existence through the subjugation of the aborigines by an invading tribe.<sup>4)</sup> Several tribes in Samhar are divided into a nobility and an inferior class, of which the former is said to come from Tsanadeglé and the latter to belong to the original population.<sup>5)</sup> The lowest rank among the Beni Amer is called *Woréza* which means „man“ or „servant“, or according to their descent *O'Hassa* or *O'Bedawi*, which are the names of two subjugated tribes.<sup>6)</sup> The pariahs among the Somali, Danakil and Galla are said to be descended from the native population which was brought into a state of subjection by the conquering tribes.<sup>7)</sup> The ruling class of the Azkár constitutes by far the smaller part of the population of their country, while the great mass of the people consists of a subject and degraded tribe called Imghád, or, in the Arabic form, Merátha or even Metáthra.<sup>8)</sup> It appears that the superior classes of the Kél-owi in Aïr belong to the very powerful and numerous tribe of the Aurághen, whence their dialect is called Auraghiye even at the present day.<sup>9)</sup> The Wahinda are said to be a foreign and ruling

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<sup>1)</sup> Holub, *Seven Years in South Africa*, i. 345.

<sup>2)</sup> Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, i. 210. Cf. Speke, *Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, p. 247.

<sup>3)</sup> Munzinger, *Bogos*, p. 48.

<sup>4)</sup> *Id.*, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 34.

<sup>5)</sup> *Ib.*, p. 140.

<sup>6)</sup> *Ib.*, p. 311.

<sup>7)</sup> Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, i. 23, 241.

<sup>8)</sup> Barth, *Travels in North and Central Africa*, i. 234.

<sup>9)</sup> *Ib.*, i. 339.



family, who coming from a distant country, probably in the neighbourhood of Somaliland, conquered the territories, and became the sultans of their present country. Their superiority to their subjects in figure, stature and complexion also suggests a difference of origin.<sup>1)</sup> Among the Wavinga<sup>2)</sup> as well as the people of Dar-fur<sup>3)</sup> the chiefs are of an alien conquering race. In wide districts of East Africa and Sudan bands of Arab origin have established themselves amongst the indigenous tribes as over-lords and ruling families.<sup>4)</sup> The Fulbe or Fellani in North Central Africa are a similar conquering race; among many tribes they constitute the ruling classes.<sup>5)</sup>

From certain parts of the rest of the world similar examples are forthcoming.<sup>6)</sup> Among the Kands there dwell a lower race of people who occupy a degraded position and do all the menial work. „They are supposed to be the remnants of a ruder race, whom the Kands found in possession of the Hills, when they themselves were pushed backwards by the Aryans from the plains.“<sup>7)</sup> The country of the Khamtis, a hill tribe of Lakhimpur in Assam, is also occupied

<sup>1)</sup> Burton, *Lake Regions*, ii. 219.

<sup>2)</sup> *Ib.*, ii. 75.

<sup>3)</sup> Browne, 'Dar-Für', in *Pinkerton*, xv. 158.

<sup>4)</sup> Wilson, 'Nile Valley', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xviii. 8 sq., 10, 12. Rüppell, *Reisen in Nubien*, p. 31. Weber, *Vier Jahre in Afrika*, ii. 408. Sibree, *The Great African Island*, pp. 106 sq.

<sup>5)</sup> Barth, *Travels in North and Central Africa*, ii. 103, 116; iv. 146 sq. Rohlf, *Quer durch Afrika*, ii. 213. Mockler-Ferryman, *British Nigeria*, p. 188.

<sup>6)</sup> In this connection we cannot more particularly enter upon the question in what degree the rise of the Hindoo castes may be attributed to race-inequality between the different grades of the population. An attempt to throw light upon this comprehensive inquiry would lead us too far. For the same reason we must abstain from more closely investigating here the question as to the rise of classes in Polynesia. But it appears to us evident that in both these regions classes came into existence in a manner analogous to that in which the same thing happened in other parts of the world. For as far as we can see there are no circumstances which would speak against the probability that the Indian castes as well as the class systems in Polynesia have arisen under the influence of the same intratribal or extratribal conditions which in one form or another are seen wherever the formation of classes has taken place.

<sup>7)</sup> Hunter, *History of the Indian Peoples*, p. 48.

by certain lower tribes „apparently the remains of the earlier population who had been subjugated by the Khamtis.“<sup>1)</sup> In Siam there are, besides the Siamese, Laos, Cambodian, Burmese and other races „who have been subjugated in war; and who are absolute vassals to their masters or to the sovereign.“<sup>2)</sup> The bulk of the population of Lomboek consists of Sassaks who are a Malay race of the Mahometan religion. The ruling classes, on the other hand, are natives of the adjacent island of Bali, and are of the of Brahmanic religion.<sup>3)</sup> In speaking of the wars of the Hawaiians Ellis says: „When the vanquished were completely routed, or nearly cut off, their country was *hoopahora*, portioned out, by the conqueror among the chiefs and warriors who had been his companions in the war, by whom it was settled. The wives and children of those whom they had defeated were frequently made slaves, and attached to the soil for its cultivation, and, together with the captives, treated with great cruelty.“<sup>4)</sup> From South Australia we have an instance representing, as it seems, a very early state of social inequality depending upon the amalgamation of alien communities. Mr. Howitt tells us that the Ikula tribe situated at the head of the Great Australian Bight, is divided into four different classes, two of which seem to hold a superior position to the others. „This, I think“, he says, „justifies the belief that we may have here a case of two communities having amalgamated, but not on equal terms, one having been more powerful than the other.“ The superior tribe retains for itself greater privileges than it granted to the tribe admitted to its community, such, for instance, as certain rights of intermarriage.<sup>5)</sup> The Peruvian Incas are known to have been a conquering race superior to the other races of the land in intellectual power.<sup>6)</sup>

1) Hunter, *Statistical Account of Assam*, i. 312.

2) Bowring, *Siam*, i. 123 sq.

3) Wallace, *Malay Archipelago*, i. 270.

4) Ellis, *Hawaii*, pp. 147, 426. *Id.*, *Polynesian Researches*, iv. 414 sq.

5) Howitt, 'Notes on the Australian Class Systems', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xii. 508 sq.

6) Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, i. 40.



From Europe also we have similar examples of the rise of class-inequality. The population in Sicyon consisted partly of immigrant Dorians and partly of native Achæans, the former of which, previous to the time of the tyrant Clistenes, evidently enjoyed privileges in advance of the latter.<sup>1)</sup> In Argos the organization of the community was of a similar character, and previous to the introduction of a democratic constitution the Achæans certainly had not the same rights as the Dorians.<sup>2)</sup> In Orchomenos in Bœotia there were two groups of inhabitants, one of which had its name from a mythical king, the other from a river in the country, and it seems evident that the former of the two groups was the dominant, and the latter the subject one.<sup>3)</sup> In like manner, in Cyzicus the Ionian immigrants had made themselves masters of the original agricultural inhabitants.<sup>4)</sup> The Pericæci and Helots in ancient Sparta are said to have been Achæans who under various conditions had lost their independence to the ever forward-pressing Dorians.<sup>5)</sup> Among the clients in ancient Rome there were entire bodies of citizens of conquered towns who were admitted within the pale of the Roman community.<sup>6)</sup> The origin of the class of the Liten or Aldien, who among the Western Teutons occupied an intermediate position between the free men and the serfs, is referred to the voluntary submission of vanquished tribes or groups to the victors.<sup>7)</sup> It is well known that after the Norman conquest all the greatest estates and highest offices in England were transferred from Saxon to Norman owners. Thus in the course of William the Conqueror's reign a terri-

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<sup>1)</sup> Schoemann, *Griechische Alterthümer*, i. 133. Cf. *The History of Herodotus*, v. 68.

<sup>2)</sup> Schoemann, *op. cit.*, i. 133.

<sup>3)</sup> *Ib.*, i. 133.

<sup>4)</sup> *Ib.*, i. 133. Marquardt, *Cyzicus und sein Gebiet*, pp. 52 sq.

<sup>5)</sup> Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, b. iii. ch. 20. *The Geography of Strabo*, b. viii. ch. v. § 4. Schoemann, *op. cit.*, i. 200.

<sup>6)</sup> Sohm, *The Institutes*, pp. 38—40. Mommsen, *History of Rome*, i. 79, 109 sq.

<sup>7)</sup> Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, i. 101—103.

torial aristocracy of foreign birth was established in the land.<sup>1)</sup>

It would be of interest to see how customs, languages, etc., stand in relation to each other at the amalgamation of different peoples. The comparatively meagre information which we possess in this respect affords us but slight guidance, but it shows how difficult it is to set up definite rules applicable to all cases. Much depends manifestly upon the relative proportions of the different elements of the population, upon their disposition, aptness to learn, etc. It is self-evident that as a rule the stronger of these elements will in various respects assert and maintain its own interests. This is shown in many cases as regards the regulations for contracting matrimony between persons belonging to different sections of the same nation. Among the Kano of Hausa, the ruling classes, as we have seen, consist of Fulbe or Fellani elements, while the lower classes seem to belong to the Kanuri or Bornu nations. The Fulbe, we are told, „marry the handsome daughters of the subjugated tribe, but would not condescend to give their own daughters to the men of that tribe in marriage.“<sup>2)</sup> In the Ikula community of South Australia, which we have mentioned before, the superior group of the Budera and Kurá retain to itself certain special privileges of intermarriage.<sup>3)</sup>

With regard to the language which wins predominance in a nation where two elements are by means of conquest amalgamated, Professor Gumplowicz has given as his opinion that the language of the subjugated majority will be the victorious one.<sup>4)</sup> But this he bases upon the doubtful presumption that it is always the smaller number that rules over the larger.<sup>5)</sup> As examples of the presumed validity of his theory Professor Gumplowicz cites the Varjags in Russia, the Longobarders in Italy and the Normans, first in France

1) Freeman, *History of the Norman Conquest of England*, iv. 14 sq.

2) Barth, *Travels in North and Central Africa*, ii. 103, 116, 146.

3) Howitt, 'Notes on the Australian Class Systems', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xii. 509.

4) Gumplowicz, *Der Rassenkampf*, p. 226.

5) *Ib.*, pp. 219 sq.



and later in England. He admits, however, that there are also instances to the contrary.<sup>1)</sup> — Doubtless the conditions of language vary in a great degree in a mixed nation, depending upon a whole number of determining circumstances. Among peoples of lower standing it seems generally to be the stronger conquering races that force their language upon the vanquished ones. The inhabitants of Bellima in the Monbuttu country principally belong to the race of the Bamba. They have a language of their own, but have adopted the customs as well as the speech of the ruling classes who are Monbuttu.<sup>2)</sup> The Wa-boni (known by other names also) and the Endorobo are helot tribes living in serfdom with the Masai and the Galla, and speaking the languages of their masters, though they are said to retain independent tongues of their own.<sup>3)</sup> The nobility of the Bogos, about one third of their people, are of Agou origin and have forced their language upon the rest of the population.<sup>4)</sup> Garcilasso de la Vega writes respecting the ancient Peruvians: „Amongst other things that the Kings Yncas established for the good government of their empire, was that all their vassals should learn the language of the court, being that which is now known as the general language. — — It should be understood that the Yncas had another special language which they spoke amongst themselves, but which the other Indians did not understand, nor was it lawful for any to learn it.“<sup>5)</sup> In Northern California the Hupâ hold most of their neighbouring tribes in a state of semi-vassalage, exacting from them annual tribute. They compel all their tributaries, to the number of about half-a-dozen, to speak Hupâ in communication with them. „Although most of their petty tributaries“, Mr. Powers writes, „had their own tongues originally, so vigorously were they put to school

<sup>1)</sup> Gumplowicz, *Der Rassenkampf*, pp. 226 sq.

<sup>2)</sup> Emin Pasha, *Central Africa*, p. 192.

<sup>3)</sup> Johnston, *Kilima-Njaro Expedition*, p. 401.

<sup>4)</sup> Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 73.

<sup>5)</sup> Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, pt. i. b. vii. ch. 1.

in the language of their masters that most of their vocabularies were sapped and reduced to bald categories of names.<sup>1)</sup>

✓The amalgamation of two nationalities has not invariably been brought about by the conquerors invading the country of the vanquished and settling there. More often, perhaps, it has come to pass as a result of taking prisoners of war. The lowest classes of the victorious tribes are recruited from such captives of the bow and spear, who have been carried off from their own country. In Dahomey, for instance, there are said to be very few people of pure native blood, those who may claim to be of the race are the king's family and the nobles. As a military nation, the officers are native, the soldiery aliens, prisoners of war or purchased slaves.<sup>2)</sup> Among the Monbuttu the servant class is chiefly recruited from Morvú.<sup>3)</sup>

✓In point of fact we see that the subjugation of one tribe by another is one of the most fruitful sources of slavery. This is the case whether the conquering tribe settles in the country of the conquered, or only carries off prisoners of war thence. Among the children of nature the fate of the vanquished, so far as an amalgamation between them and their conquerors takes place, is most frequently, though not always, to serve the stronger as slaves. ✓In numerous cases, where we see that the lower classes among a people have originally sprung from a subjugated alien nationality, the conquered race has at first occupied a position of servitude before penetrating to other classes of the population. In many instances during the period of transition a long process of development has been going on, which we cannot now follow. Our task has been only to exhibit social inequality in its general rise previous to its development into distinct classes.<sup>4)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> Powers, 'Tribes of California', in *Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, iii. 72.

<sup>2)</sup> Forbes, *Dahomey*, i. 19.

<sup>3)</sup> Emin Pasha, *Central Africa*, p. 192.

<sup>4)</sup> It is my purpose before long to examine the origin of nobility, slavery, etc., as well as the relation between the different classes.



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THE END



## ERRATUM.

P. 5, footnote 1, for „savage peoples“ read „the rudest savage peoples.“





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